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THE WAR.

THE plan of the Russian campaign in European Turkey was probably long since formed; but the Commander-in-Chief and his staff can scarcely have expected to execute it with the ease and almost uninterrupted success which have hitherto attended their operations. The check which has been incurred at Plevna by the force which was advancing in the direction of Widdin is acknowledged in the Russian official reports; and the Turks claim an advantage in a combat of artillery in the neighbourhood of Silistria. In other quarters the invading army had, until within a few days, scarcely met with serious opposition; but there are now vague reports of combats in which the Turks claim the advantage. The two main defences of Turkey have been abandoned with a facility which indicates either cowardice or treason. The supposed estimate of a loss of thirty thousand men as a price to be paid for the passage of the Danube may perhaps not have been extravagant on the assumption that the army which defended the right bank of the river was moderately efficient, and that it was commanded by generals of average capacity. A mere civilian would have held columns of troops with artillery in readiness to move upon any point where the enemy might attempt to cross; and at the most likely places heavy guns would have been placed in position for the purpose of destroying the bridges before they were completed, or while the troops were crossing. At Sistova a newspaper Correspondent found a battery which had been actually constructed; but the Turks had not taken the trouble to provide it with guns. An attack by superior numbers on the first detachments which crossed might have been formidable; but the only force which attempted resistance found itself outnumbered, and a second bridge was established almost as easily as if the troops had been engaged in a sham-fight within their own territory. A few days later Tirnova was evacuated in confusion on the approach of a body of cavalry; and the next movement was General GOURKA's occupation of a bridle-road which traverses the ridge of the Balkan. As soon as the Russians found themselves on the southern side of the mountains they took one of the principal passes in reverse; and ten thousand regular troops, occupying extraordinarily strong positions, at once fled in disorder with the Pasha in command at their head. As soon as the Russians have masked the Northern fortresses, and perhaps taken Rustchuk, there is nothing to prevent the rest of the army from marching on Adrianople. It is true that military critics still regard the plan of campaign as hazardous; but the most important element in the calculations of a general is the quality of his adversaries; and the Russians have hitherto appreciated justly the insignificant resistance of the Turks. The new commanders who have been appointed may perhaps be less sluggish than their predecessors; but it is probably too late to intercept the Russian communications or to dislodge them from the Shipka Pass. Since the fall of Nicopolis the invader commands in security the passage of the river; and it is at last announced that Roumanian troops will be employed on garrison duty, with the result of leaving the entire Russian army at liberty for operations in the field.

No attempt seems to have been made to renew offensive hostilities in Armenia. The Russian army is still believed to hold a strong position in the neighbourhood of Kars; but it appears not to be strong enough to resume the siege. A part of the invading force has been withdrawn

within the Russian frontier; and it seems possible that Ardahan, the only conquest yet effected, will soon be evacuated. No explanation has been given of the want of foresight which has been displayed in the scheme and conduct of the Asiatic campaign. If there were not sufficient forces for the simultaneous invasion of European and Asiatic Turkey, it would have been easy to confine the operations on the Armenian frontier to menacing demonstrations, which might have had the effect of creating a diversion. The unexpected measure of calling the Reserve or Militia to arms may perhaps be intended for the reinforcement of the army of the Caucasus. The Russian Government can perhaps afford to disregard a check which may have no effect on the conditions of peace; but it was a mistake to allow a weaker adversary to gain an advantage in any quarter. The Circassian insurrection would probably not have occurred if the unsuccessful invasion of Armenia had not been attempted. There is hitherto no report of disturbances in the remoter dominions of Russia; but it would not be surprising if rumours of discontent in Asiatic Turkey were followed by attempts at rebellion in Central Asia. On every other side the Turkish Empire is surrounded by perils. The tardy withdrawal of SULEIMAN PASHA and his forces from the barren struggle in Montenegro has naturally encouraged the warlike mountaineers to fresh exertions. They have already taken some outlying forts; and they have commenced the siege of Nicksick, which must ultimately surrender, unless it is relieved. The conquests which the Montenegrins may effect on the side of Herzegovina in the absence of an enemy will have no effect on the main course of the war. It was a grave mistake to employ in wasting mountain warfare a body of regular troops which were urgently wanted on the Danube. Another danger threatens the Turkish Government, as the Russian advance continues. The Greeks of the kingdom will probably raise an insurrection in Epirus and Thessaly as soon as the fate of the campaign is finally decided. It is uncertain whether the Servians will take the same opportunity of asserting their claim to a share of the booty.

An unseasonable controversy has arisen on the alleged barbarities of the Russians and their Bulgarian allies. It is to be regretted that the comparative cruelty of two hostile races should become a subject of discussion. The statement of a number of English and foreign newspaper Correspondents establishes the fact that some women, children, and non-combatants have been wounded or otherwise maltreated. It is to be feared that such outrages occur in almost every war, especially when some of the troops engaged are imperfectly civilized. The liberated Bulgarians are not unlikely to revenge themselves on their former masters when they are assured of impunity; and it would seem that in some instances Cossacks have been guilty of cruelty. There is no reason to suppose that superior Russian officers have connived at the outrages which are now used as a set-off against the crimes perpetrated last year by the Turkish irregulars in Bulgaria. Whatever may have been done to nomad tribes in regions far removed from European supervision, the Russians are certain to avoid as far as possible cause for recrimination on the part of the Turks. Systematic oppression of the conquered Mussulmans may be expected from the rulers of Poland, but promiscuous licence and murder will be neither encouraged nor permitted. The artless appeals of the Turkish Government on behalf of the supposed victims of Russian cruelty

prove that the impression produced by the Bulgarian atrocities is beginning to penetrate the Oriental understanding. The implied inference that England ought to go to war with Russia is at least hasty, for the crimes committed in Bulgaria were resented in the form of neutrality, and not by armed interference.

Both Mr. BRIGHT and Lord HARTINGTON have within the last two or three days taken occasion to protest against a warlike policy, from which the Government is probably not less averse than themselves. It must be admitted that there has been some carelessness in supplying pretexts for suspicions which are nevertheless unfounded. Since the Crimean War, and more especially during the present complications, the appearance of an English fleet in Besika Bay has been usually associated with a menacing or active policy. Any other station in the Archipelago would have served the same purpose; and it was unlucky that the fleet should be ordered to Besika Bay as soon as the Russian army had crossed the Danube. The Government is perhaps less responsible for the excitement which was produced by the despatch of a small reinforcement for the garrison of Malta. An insignificant movement of French, German, or Austrian troops would probably not have been mentioned in the newspapers, and it would certainly not have been supposed to indicate any political design. It is highly expedient that provision should be made at all times for the security of Malta, which is not at present threatened by any enemy; but perhaps it might have been possible to add to the insufficient garrison without attracting public notice. As the Russians are said to have three hundred thousand men in European Turkey, a movement of three thousand English troops can scarcely be intended for purposes of war. Resistance to the designs of Russia in the first instance would have been intelligible; but interference because the invasion has been prosperously conducted would be a foolish exhibition of caprice. There can be no doubt that the Government sent the fleet to Besika Bay to be there at anchor, and that the Malta garrison will remain at Malta.

PAST ENDURANCE.

IF the interest in the great contest in the East is somewhat diminished by the fact that we seem never to get to a real battle, this cannot be said of the contest that has so long been raging in the House of Commons. The Irish obstructives have fought a grand battle, which has lasted exactly a week, and have succeeded in wasting an innumerable number of hours, working the House into a state of fury, provoking the leader of the House into an attempt at coercion, from which he has had to recede, defying the Chairman of Committees, and rendering it absolutely necessary that the House should alter rules which have prevailed from time immemorial. The engagement commenced in the early morning of last Saturday. The Government probably hoped that they would be allowed to clear off the Irish Judicature Bill, everything except the schedules being finished. But the enemy immediately attacked, and was preparing to wall in and out of the lobbies the whole night. The objection was repeated that important business ought not to be taken at such an hour, and the CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, with a view at once to meet this objection and to avoid a prolonged contest, proposed that the Bill should be taken at a morning sitting on Saturday. When the House met on Saturday, instead of the Bill being taken at once, the Irish members kept the House for an hour wrangling as to whether they had agreed to the arrangement for a morning sitting, and Mr. BUTT once more raised his ineffectual voice to protest that he felt humiliated. Mr. PARNELL was as impervious as usual to the remonstrances of his leader, and stated that the time was approaching when the Irish people would have to decide whether all the business of the House should not be systematically obstructed, offering himself as a willing agent to carry out this decision if it should be made. What the Irish people could ask Mr. PARNELL to do beyond what he had already done is not clear. On Monday the struggle was resumed with increasing fervour on the question whether the Government should have Wednesday for their business, and the SPEAKER thought himself bound to take notice that the Irish members were seriously testing the forbearance of the House. Mr. CHAPLIN rushed into the fray, and, unfortunately saying what should only have been felt, insisted that the

obstructives were showing themselves to be insensible to the feelings of gentlemen. The obstructives raged with noble anger at this, and Mr. CHAPLIN, in nominally repeating his remark, changed it so as to make it inoffensive, and Mr. CALLAN condescendingly intimated that he would take no further notice of what had been said. But a feeling of extreme irritation had been generated, and it was evident that many hours could not pass without a fresh explosion.

On Tuesday night the Irish County Courts Bill came on, and Major O'GORMAN immediately moved that progress should be reported. The SPEAKER asked him to name another teller, and he named Mr. BIGGAR. The two tellers had one voter to count, and they counted Mr. PARNELL. It happens that the Irish County Courts Bill is a wonderful Bill in its way; for it is not only wanted for the Irish people, but by them; and Mr. BIGGAR and Mr. PARNELL had to explain how it occurred that they had obstructed its progress. Mr. BIGGAR said that he could never desert a friend; and when his friend Major O'GORMAN asked him to be a teller, he stuck by his friend, and acted as he was asked. Mr. PARNELL explained that, when he saw two such great friends of his as Major O'GORMAN and Mr. BIGGAR acting as tellers, he thought it hard on them that they should have no one to count, and so he had walked into the lobby to save them from ridicule. Exactly the same process was repeated without delay on a motion that the Chairman should leave the chair, and the House shortly afterwards broke up with this startling proof of the character and nature of the obstruction that was being offered. On Wednesday came the great outburst, and the harmless South Africa Bill was seized as the occasion. Mr. MONK charged members with abusing the forms of the House. Mr. JENKINS moved that the words should be taken down, and Mr. PARNELL, in seconding the motion, proclaimed that the limits of endurance had been passed. They had. The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER could no longer sit quiet and see the House mocked and insulted, and when Mr. PARNELL expressed the satisfaction which it gave him to thwart the intentions of the Government with regard to the Bill, Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE moved that the words should be taken down, and the SPEAKER informed of what had taken place. On taking the Chair, the SPEAKER laid down as a rule of Parliamentary law that any member wilfully and persistently obstructing the business of the House was guilty of a breach of privilege, and might be punished by censure, commitment, or suspension. Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE moved that Mr. PARNELL be suspended until the following Friday. But then a singular difficulty presented itself. If Mr. PARNELL was to be punished for the particular words he had used, the effect of these words must be examined, and there is nothing un-Parliamentary in expressing a satisfaction in thwarting the intentions of the Government with regard to a specified Bill; for all who oppose a Bill must feel this satisfaction. If Mr. PARNELL was, as Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE explained, to be punished, not for the words he had used, but for general obstructiveness, there was no reason why he should stand alone, and why Mr. O'DONNELL, Major O'GORMAN, and Mr. BIGGAR should not be suspended from service along with him. This difficulty was so obvious and so pressing, that Mr. HARDY, in order to extricate his leader from the embarrassing position in which he found himself, moved the adjournment of the debate until the following day; and when Thursday came, the Government had resolved that it would abandon the personal question, and not mix the name of Mr. PARNELL with the proceedings it desired to take. It was ready with two new rules, which it is hoped will be found effectual, and will put an end to the Irish obstructives for the rest of the Session.

The first of these rules refers to the conduct of members who disregard the authority of the Speaker or of the Chairman of Committees, and provides that when a member, after being twice declared out of order by either of these officials, shall be pronounced to be again disregarding the authority of the Chair, the debate shall be suspended, and, on a motion being made that the member shall not be heard during the remainder of the debate or during the sitting of the Committee, such motion, after the member complained of has been heard, shall be put without debate. This is a rule intended to protect Mr. RAIKES, for whose authority the obstructives have little respect, and it will certainly prevent disregard of his authority being carried to its extreme length; but it will not do more, for the whole punishment consists in a member

who has been three times called to order being condemned for the rest of the sitting to silence. Every Irish obstructive may have, as it were, three shots at the Chair, and then retire to let another Irish obstructive take his place. The other rule provides that in Committee of the whole House no member shall have power to move more than once during the debate on the same question, either that the Chairman do report progress, or that the Chairman do leave the chair, nor to speak more than once to such motion, and that no member who has made one of these motions shall have power to make the other on the same question. Whether this rule will effect the desired object, and terminate obstruction, must depend on something outside the rule itself. The obstructives might accept this rule, or have it imposed on them, and yet carry on obstruction as freely and successfully as ever. They have only got to give notice of amendment to every clause of every Bill. On each clause there will be a new question, and on each question they can force a number of divisions equal to their own number on motions to report progress or for the Chairman to leave the chair, and then a final division on the amendment itself. If they each proposed a different amendment, they might multiply divisions indefinitely. If they give way now, and cease obstruction in face of this new rule, they will obviously do so either because they are tired of their work or ashamed of themselves, which is possible, but of which there are at present no signs; or because they fear that, if they persevere, some action of a much more stringent character will be taken to coerce them into decorum. That neither the House nor the Government will now suffer themselves to be ignominiously beaten may be safely assumed. An obstruction that is past endurance will not be endured; but the precise mode in which it will finally be overcome is as yet uncertain.

THE COBDEN CLUB DINNER.

LORD HARTINGTON makes no pretension to the character of an orator; but there is a purpose and a meaning in his speeches which is not less valuable than much ornamental rhetoric. His address as Chairman at the Cobden Club dinner was more interesting than the customary eulogies on the hero of the day. In foreign politics Lord HARTINGTON avowed himself to be still an adherent of Lord PALMERSTON against his inveterate opponent. There was perhaps some inconsistency in his adoption of Mr. COBDEN's sneers at British interests and the balance of power which were through life the objects of Lord PALMERSTON'S deepest solicitude. Mr. BRIGHT, who never forgives or forgets, expressed in his speech at Bradford the same animosity to Lord PALMERSTON which he has always cultivated. Lord HARTINGTON was diverted from his main argument by an incidental temptation to protest against the policy of resistance to Russia which is ascribed to Lord BEACONSFIELD. There can be no doubt of the course which Mr. COBDEN would have approved in present circumstances; and he would probably, as on many other occasions, have found himself in opposition to Lord PALMERSTON. After paying a passing tribute to party or to his own personal conviction, Lord HARTINGTON resumed the consideration of the policy with which Mr. COBDEN's name is inseparably associated. The prospects of Free-trade are not altogether encouraging; and the most sanguine theorists must by this time begin to suspect that human affairs are not for the most part exclusively governed by argument. For more than thirty years the educated classes in England have understood that cheap markets are good for buyers and dear markets for sellers; but they have not succeeded in converting to their opinions a majority of politicians in any part of Europe or America. It may be doubtful whether even English economists are always thoroughly orthodox. Some of the ablest of their number frequently adulterate their doctrine with an admixture of socialism; and the Committee of the Cobden Club itself lately apologized for an admirable essay in which the Duke of ARGYLE advocated freedom in the disposal of land. Political economy, as far as it is a science, has, with a certain approach to accuracy, been stigmatized by one-sided satirists as the gospel of selfishness. In less invidious phrase, it is an exposition of the logical consequences of absolute ownership. The proposition that every man understands his own business best may be subject to

exceptions, but it lies at the root of the doctrine of Free-trade. Modern speculations on the tenure of land almost always involve the opposite assumption that the State knows better than landlords and tenants how their contracts ought to be framed.

A Free-trader from Boston who spoke at the Cobden dinner thought fit to apologize for the protectionism of New England by referring to a similar perversity of opinion in Australia. It was apparently to this remark that a speaker from New South Wales referred when he magnanimously forgave the insults which he supposed to have been offered to the Colonies. It is satisfactory to learn that the oldest and largest of the Australian settlements has really shown some disposition to adopt a sound economical policy. New South Wales may advantageously contrast its own condition with the benighted state of Victoria, where universal suffrage has lately produced a Legislature and a Ministry pledged to the most revolutionary measures. In that colony the progressive impost which is advocated by Communists and Jacobins in France has been already adopted in principle; and, in default of reaction, it will soon be applied in practical legislation. A protective or prohibitory system of duties is naturally associated with an arbitrarily graduated Income-tax. The dominant working-man has his own gospel of selfishness, though he disdains the truths of political economy. The art of growing rich is not most conveniently cultivated under the despotism of the poor. In course of time the majority or the most powerful section of the population of Victoria may perhaps have something to lose, and then Mr. BERRY and his doctrines will be renounced by general consent; but the possible COBDEN of Victoria will find a democracy harder to deal with than a few thousand English landowners. Professor ATKINSON, of Boston, fancied that the abolition of slavery in America may tend, by some unexplained process, to promote free commercial intercourse. The fact is that before the war the Democrats, who were then allied with the slaveholders, understood their own interests well enough to oppose a restrictive tariff. When the war commenced, the Republicans, without loss of a day, took advantage of the secession of Southern members to enact a protectionist tariff, which still remains in force. Mr. FORSTER expressed a natural surprise at the acquiescence of the Southern and Western States in a commercial system by which they are the principal sufferers; but long experience shows that producers are more skilful than consumers in the manipulation of popular suffrage.

M. LÉON SAY, who has long been known as an able and hereditary supporter of sound doctrine, professed to hope that the present French Ministry will pursue the policy which, in contradiction to his late chief, he ascribes to M. JULES SIMON and his Cabinet. M. SAY can scarcely be mistaken when he asserts that the Republican Government had resolved on the conclusion of a liberal treaty of commerce with England; but M. SIMON has thought it expedient to disavow, for the purposes of the election, the policy which he seems to have sanctioned in office. In France, as in other countries, election addresses furnish the best evidence, not of the belief of the candidate, but of the supposed prejudices of the constituency. Notwithstanding the presence of the Duke DECAZES in the Cabinet, there is too much reason to fear that the Duke of BROGLIE may truckle to the delusions on which M. JULES SIMON relies. It is not known that the Bonapartists cherish the enlightened notions of trade which were held by NAPOLEON III. M. THIERS may perhaps be the only French statesman who still conscientiously believes in the ancient fallacies of Protection; but all parties will be inclined to bid for votes; and the manufacturers of Rouen and St. Etienne are better worth courting than ignorant wine-growers. It was not Mr. COBDEN'S fault that his commercial treaty and the accompanying negotiations tended in some degree to perpetuate the errors which both the English plenipotentiary and the Emperor of the French were endeavouring partially to correct. Every reduction of a Customs duty was treated as a concession, not to the domestic taxpayer, but to the foreign producer. When M. THIERS, as President of the Republic, discussed the renewal of the treaty, he was able without inconsistency to contend for the restoration of a part of the former protective duties. M. JULES SIMON now protests that his Government was disposed to retain as much as possible of the tribute which French manufacturers levy on their countrymen.

In Germany, in Austria, and in Italy commercial freedom has within ten or fifteen years rather lost than gained in general favour. The stagnation of trade throughout the civilized world is of course attributed by manufacturers to the foreign competition which has to some extent followed the conclusion of commercial treaties. The Imperial Government has at least not discouraged the reclamation of German ironmasters, and in the Austrian Empire there are many proofs of a similar tendency. If Lord MELBOURNE were alive, recent experience would confirm his impression that truth, although it may be great, seldom prevails. The speakers at the Cobden Club dinner appear in their references to the war at the least to have felt no uneasiness on account of a new and unusual danger to commerce. It is not improbable that some of the most fertile regions of Europe and Asia will be soon incorporated as provinces or dependencies in the overgrown Russian Empire. One of the objects of the operations in Armenia is to obtain control of a principal caravan route from the coast of the Black Sea to the interior of Asia; and, although the campaign in those countries has been hitherto conducted with little success, the Turks will eventually be compelled to purchase peace by large territorial concessions. Although Germany and Austria will perhaps stipulate for the continuance of navigation on the Danube, it is possible that their demands may be limited to special privileges for themselves, and that English commerce may be excluded, not only from the Black Sea, but from the Danube. In these unpromising circumstances, the Cobden Club deserves credit for holding its celebration with ostensible confidence and cheerfulness.

MARSHAL MACMAHON'S SUPPORTERS.

MARSHAL MACMAHON'S inability to drive the unruly steeds which, in an evil hour alike for himself and for his country he has thought fit to put in harness, becomes more evident every day. In point of fact, the MARSHAL, the Duke of BROGLIE, and even the energetic M. DE FOURETOUT himself, have ceased to be objects of interest to any one who is not looking out for a place. The bystanders no longer keep their eyes on the coachman to see what he will do with his horses; their attention is entirely taken up with the consideration of what the horses will do with one another. It is already forgotten that the dismissal of M. SIMON professed to be an appeal to the country to decide between the MARSHAL and the Radicals. For a day or two after the present Ministry took office, the Bonapartists and the Legitimists went through the form of laying aside their special ends and appearing for the time in the character of Conservatives pure and simple. But the effort soon proved too great for them. To men who hold that the more complete the ascendancy of the Radical party becomes, the more chance there will be of their being called in to put things straight, Conservatism pure and simple is only an incumbrance. Until it is got out of the way there will always be a danger that the timid public whose fears constitute the stock-in-trade of Bonapartists and Legitimists may be tempted to look for a saviour in the wrong direction. It was prudent to wait to see if the MARSHAL's sudden accession of resolution evoked any sympathy in the country; but as soon as it was ascertained that the country cared nothing about the MARSHAL, and consequently that nothing was to be gained by professing devotion to him, the party managers, both of the Bonapartists and of the Legitimists, once more advertised their several companies in their old and favourite characters. The issue to be decided in the autumn will not lie between the MARSHAL and the Republic; it will be merely a trial heat between Bonapartists and Legitimists, to decide which of them shall run against the Republic in 1880.

Under these circumstances the choice of candidates becomes a difficult process. The Duke of BROGLIE has persuaded himself that, if an elector can be brought to look steadily enough at an official candidate, he must in the end be fascinated by him; and supposing this process to be repeated with a sufficient number of electors, and in a sufficient number of constituencies, the redemption of the country will be assured. Seemingly, however, the DUKE has a lurking doubt about the soundness of his own theory. If he were quite happy on this point, he would not trouble himself about such a trifling as a candidate's chances. On the theory that the MARSHAL represents the revolt of the country against

a Chamber which was elected under a misapprehension, and never really represented France, the mere fact that a candidate presents himself with the Government stamp ought to be a sufficient recommendation. If there is any question as to which of two candidates should be put forward, the natural thing would be to fix on the one who most nearly represents the MARSHAL's personal views. It seems to be understood, however, that the MARSHAL's personal views go for nothing with the electors. The Government do not much ask whether a candidate will do well to profess sympathy with them. The main thing to be settled is always whether the Bonapartists or the Legitimists have the most influence in the district, and consequently whether, in determining which candidate has the best chance, a Bonapartist or a Legitimist shall be preferred. So far as forms go, the Government of Marshal MACMAHON is still Republican. But it no longer thinks it necessary to accommodate its professions to its nominal character. The Republic has altogether slipped out of the calculations of those who claim to be its guardians. The first object of the Duke of BROGLIE's desires is the return of a Chamber composed almost exclusively of deputies who wish to have NAPOLEON IV. for their Emperor and of deputies who wish to have HENRY V. for their King. At all events, he can claim the merit of disinterestedness. Whoever will gain by the elections, the Orleanists can only lose by them. The constitutional Royalists were but scantily represented in the late Chamber; it is doubtful whether they will be represented at all in the next Chamber. It is sad to think that this noble immolation of self should have made no impression on either of the parties for whose benefit the sacrifice has been offered up. Bonapartists and Legitimists ought by rights to have been rivalling one another in singing the Duke of BROGLIE's praises. The two together should have formed a vast double choir between whom this mighty theme should have been tossed backward and forward until every wind of Heaven had caught the tune. Instead of this, all the rivalry between them is which shall abuse the Duke of BROGLIE hardest. Legitimists and Bonapartists alike say that further concert with the Government is impossible. Neither party can endure the favour that has been shown to the other in the selection of candidates, and both agree in resenting the crumbs of favour which have fallen to the share of the Orleanists. The Legitimists complain that to preach Conservatism without a King is to preach the Empire. Republic, Monarchy, and Empire are an exhaustive division of forms of government; and as every honest man admits that the Republic and Conservatism are incompatible terms, the exclusion of Monarchy leaves the Empire master of the field. The Bonapartists do not put their case on such abstract grounds. They say simply that the fair way of choosing candidates is to take in each arrondissement the candidate, be he what he may, who is most likely to carry the constituency against the Republicans. They assert that on this principle in at least sixty arrondissements their candidate would have been taken, where now they have been passed over in favour of Legitimists or Orleanists. Both complaints have some foundation to go upon. A coalition in which neither of the principal members will yield anything is not an easy thing to manage. Both are convinced that it is the duty of the other party to abate its pretensions; and while the precise measure in which each shall do it is being argued out, the coalition itself breaks up.

It is fortunate that, though these Conservative irreconcilables cannot agree for whom to vote, they are perfectly agreed whom to abuse. Such time as they can spare from their denunciations of one another is spent in denouncing M. THIERS. They have a true instinct as to the really dangerous man in their opponents' ranks, and if hard words were as effective as rifle bullets, M. THIERS would long ago have been picked off by the Conservative sharpshooters. It is beautiful to note the unexpected sympathy with the Republican party which they display in attacking the Republican leader. Their one dread seems to be that the Republicans may make M. THIERS President, and then find that, in pursuing the shadow of liberty, they have lost the substance. They implore the Republicans not to think that in exchanging Marshal MACMAHON for M. THIERS they will get a more constitutional ruler. They grew eloquent on the terrible self-will which he displayed when he was in power, on his determination to be his own Minister, in the obstinacy of his refusal to change his Cabinet at the bidding of the Assembly. There is a certain truth about this

representation of M. THIERS's character, but those who use it as an argument for being content with Marshal MACMAHON forget that, however absolute M. THIERS may have shown himself to the Assembly while he was in office, he was always willing to resign if the Assembly bade him. If the MARSHAL will give the new Chamber the same choice of alternatives which M. THIERS gave to the Assembly, all reasonable critics will be at once disarmed. No one will blame him for asking the country to judge between him and the Chamber, if, in the event of judgment being given for the Chamber, he is content either to take his Ministers from the majority or to retire from office. If hard things have been said of the MARSHAL, it is because he first maintained silence upon this point, and then used words that could only be interpreted in one sense. He ought frankly to have said to the electors, These are my views as to the position of parties in France. If they are your views, send me up a Chamber of the same mind with yourselves, and I will undertake to work with it. If they are not yours, send me up a Chamber of the same mind with yourselves, and I will undertake to make way for a President who will work with it more heartily than I can. But so long as he goes on saying that where he is he will remain, whether the country wants him or not, the fear of a *coup d'état* can never be long absent. How does Marshal MACMAHON propose to govern constitutionally till 1880 if he is determined on each return of a Republican Chamber to treat it as he has treated the last? Constitutional government is Parliamentary government, and if the opinion of Parliament is defied after it has been ascertained to be identical with the will of those who make Parliament, that is absolute government, no matter by what name its sponsors may choose to christen it. The most promising sign about the situation is perhaps this abject dread of M. THIERS. We may hope that it indicates a concealed conviction that the plan of defying the Chamber and the country will not answer, and that, if the country shows by the complexion of the Chamber that it has had enough of Marshal MACMAHON, the MARSHAL will have more dignity than to stay where he is not wanted.

MR. PIGOTT'S APPOINTMENT.

THE inquiry which has been made into the history of Mr. PIGOTT's appointment has had at least very agreeable consequences for the two persons principally concerned—for the person who made the appointment and for the person on whom it was conferred. Not only has Lord BEACONSFIELD cleared himself triumphantly from all suspicion of jobbery, but he has had an opportunity of enunciating some valuable doctrines as to the principles on which patronage ought to be used and of recalling himself to the affectionate remembrance of the House of Commons. To be present in the thoughts and recollections of the House, and yet to be safe and far away from it in the wearisome crisis through which it is now passing, must be a combination pleasant even to Lord BEACONSFIELD, who has tasted almost every form of political pleasure. But it is Mr. PIGOTT who has been the great gainer by what has taken place. He is, perhaps, the most lucky man now alive. Fortune may be said to have amused herself by advertising him. That his merits should have been rewarded by early and unusual promotion was an advantage which others perhaps may have occasionally shared with him; but that his merits should be made known to the world, that Minister after Minister should rise to praise him, that of all Englishmen he should be the one who for a week was the most spoken of, and that all said of him should be to his credit, is one of those pieces of good luck which cannot happen to a junior Civil servant twice in a century. He has, indeed, already got in one way to the top of fame, for he has been made a text. Lessons are drawn from him for the benefit of the young. It appears that he was educated at Marlborough, and that when there he did not in any way distinguish himself. With much ingenuity the Head-Master of Marlborough has held him up as a shining example to that large number of boys who do not do anything particular at school. Those numerous but unpretending young persons who have hitherto been somewhat depressed and kept in obscurity by head-masters on speech days are now to be stimulated and comforted by the thought that the illustrious Mr. PIGOTT was in youth precisely what they

are. At once Controller of Stationery, the hero of Parliament, and the hero of dull boys, Mr. PIGOTT has had, like a modern MACBETH, honour after honour showered on him. His name will long live in the traditions of the service, in the columns of *Hansard*, and in the pictured pages of Boys' Own Books; and, whereas ten days ago he was stigmatized as the unworthy favourite of a jobbing Minister, he now shines forth as fit to find a place in the remarkable annals of Self-help.

That the vote passed last week by the House of Commons should be rescinded was a matter of course, after the explanation of Lord BEACONSFIELD. Curiosity could only be excited as to what the CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER and Mr. HOLMS would have to say for themselves. Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOOTE manfully took on himself the chief blame for the catastrophe which caused Lord BEACONSFIELD so much temporary annoyance and so much ultimate gratification. He owned that he had not given the House the explanation which it looked for, and that he had not given it because he had not made himself acquainted with the particular facts as to which information was wanted. He was prepared to argue that a stationer was not wanted at the Stationery Office, and that a clever young clerk was just the right man for the place; but it had never occurred to him that Mr. PIGOTT's appointment would be ascribed to improper political motives. Consequently, when Mr. HOLMS asserted, as a positive fact, that Mr. PIGOTT's family had rendered Lord BEACONSFIELD important electioneering services, Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOOTE allowed the statement to remain uncontradicted. He even had an uncomfortable feeling that the statement might not improbably be true; for the list of Mr. PIGOTT's services with which Lord BEACONSFIELD had furnished him showed that Mr. PIGOTT was originally appointed to the War Office by Lord BEACONSFIELD. This circumstance, again, was, like everything else, explicable in a manner singularly satisfactory to Lord BEACONSFIELD and Mr. PIGOTT. Lord BEACONSFIELD having a clerkship to give away, offered it to the son of a clergyman with whom he was acquainted, and the father, in declining it for his son, asked that it might be given to a meritorious lad in whom he was interested. This meritorious lad was Mr. PIGOTT, and Lord BEACONSFIELD complied, being always anxious to promote merit, although in this case he had to overcome the recollection that Mr. PIGOTT's father had actually quarrelled with him and brought a lawsuit against him. It is to be hoped that the attention of the duller class of Marlborough boys will be particularly directed to this incident in Mr. PIGOTT's history, as it will serve to teach them how desirable it is that they should cultivate the good opinion of respectable and amiable clergymen. Mr. HOLMS must have had a very uncomfortable quarter of an hour while addressing the House, for he had made a statement which was quite untrue, and for which he had no foundation. It appeared that he had no better ground to go upon than that some one had told him that there were PIGOTTS in Buckinghamshire, who were Conservatives, and he owned that he had himself invented the telling statement that these people had rendered great electioneering services to Lord BEACONSFIELD. The political levity which could make it seem justifiable to hazard such a statement without authority was quite as blamable as the political levity which Mr. HOLMS falsely conceived to have induced Lord BEACONSFIELD to perpetrate a job.

In the same way that Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOOTE accepted the statement that Mr. PIGOTT had political influence to back him, he also accepted the statement that Mr. GREG had been appointed to and filled the post of a literary Dean. Probably this was not quite just to Mr. GREG, who is too able and conscientious a man not to do well whatever he thought he had to do in his office. It is quite consistent with this that, in the interests of the public, a different stamp of man should be appointed as his successor. The question Lord BEACONSFIELD had to decide was, whether this successor should be a stationer or a man of general ability. Lord BEACONSFIELD was against the stationer on two grounds, either of which was sufficient. The first was that he could not get him, and the second was that he was not really wanted. When special knowledge is necessary in a public servant is entirely a matter of discretion. Sometimes it is absolutely necessary, sometimes it is of scarcely any value. In this particular instance it had been demonstrated that no special knowledge was necessary, for Mr. WINN, by

exercise of mere good sense and general power of administration, had saved the country nearly 50,000*l.* a year in the Stationery Department. Having decided to attend exclusively to general ability, Lord BEACONSFIELD resolved to find out this general ability for himself. Many persons applied or were recommended for the post, but Mr. PIGOTT was not among their number; but it so happened that while Lord BEACONSFIELD was considering what to do, the SECRETARY at WAR recommended Mr. PIGOTT, who had just finished the duties of one Secretarship, to a commission as a fit person for a similar appointment if one became vacant. It occurred to Lord BEACONSFIELD that here was precisely the general ability of which he was in search. This deserves to be noticed, for it is a satisfactory example of measuring the duties of patronage by a high standard. Lord BEACONSFIELD did not attend to recommendations given by other people, but simply asked himself who, in his own honest opinion, was the best man. A Prime Minister who acts in this way may of course make a mistake, but his only security against lapsing into something like a highly respectable job is to trust his own instinct or his own judgment. No person in very high office can always keep clear of jobs. The purest of Lord Chancellors must sometimes make a man a judge who is not very competent, but who has rendered constant political support. Lord BEACONSFIELD has no doubt sometimes found himself obliged to provide for colleagues or political friends. But, when he is free not to job, no Minister was ever more punctilious in excluding every other consideration than that of the national advantage.

NEW PUBLIC OFFICES.

HAD we not already been so often disappointed at the moment when all things seemed ripe for a happy conclusion, we should really be inclined to say that reasonable hopes existed of the complete concentration of the public offices within their own premises. The illness of the SURVEYOR-GENERAL of ORDNANCE in consequence of the foul atmosphere of the makeshift offices in which the War Department has to toil sounded like SYDNEY SMITH's typical burning of a bishop in a railway-train; while the fact that a Committee, actually bursting with officials past and present, had met and formally reported, seemed to be the beginning of the end. But yet we are not happy, for no supplementary estimate has come to the birth; and, after all, Lord EUSTACE CATCH may only reckon as an archdeacon. We must accordingly, while Mr. HARDY's health is yet spared, express in terms the most uncomplimentary which our readers can conceive, that it is a disgrace to the country and its successive Governments that a matter so essential should have been allowed to drag on far into the third score of years from the date at which officials professed to have taken it up once for all. There is not a British Colony or an American State which has not been piling up its huge and gorgeous, if not quite beautiful, Capitol or State House, while the servants of the Empire are wasting their days in the atmosphere of concentrated sewage which reeks in the ill-planned, nooks and corners of hired houses, and the country is paying rents for these houses which far more than represent the capitalized price of those sites which are themselves running up in value during every year of delay. The subject was one which occupied a large space in our columns during our earliest years, and if we have not said so much about it lately, it is not that our determination has slackened to press on when the opportunity offers.

The perverse complication of Lord LANOVER's original competition, which set prizes for general arrangement, for Foreign Office and for War Office, jostling against each other, was a very false start; and, although the consequent block was set right after a puzzling inquiry—which resulted in Sir GILBERT SCOTT coming out, though not first prize-man in any of the discordant branches, as the one man who was *peculiarly* eligible for the work—yet the very fact of this only possible result being reached by what to the ignorant seemed something of a mystification, followed as it was by Lord PALMERSTON's grotesque interposition as the real Athenian virtuoso, very vexatiously chilled the public enthusiasm. However, Sir GILBERT SCOTT was allowed to carry out the Foreign and Indian Offices (in

partnership for the interior of the latter with Sir DIGBY WYATT) in the particular style which he professedly did not recommend; and a return to office of the Conservatives was signalled by his being allowed to bring the work to a partial completion by the building which contains the Home, Colonial, and one or two other offices. Then we had five years of torpor, when the triumvirate of MESSRS. GLADSTONE, LOWE, and AYRTON, athirst for the impossible in economies, scored another blank period of overcrowded lodgings, with rents and prices rising. The Conservative reaction followed, and, after three years, from the flank of the sacred mountain skips forth a little Report. It was a rather tiny being as introduced to the world by Mr. BAILLIE COCHREANE, and as it emerged from the Committee baby-farming had done its ghastly work.

But there is life in the bantling yet; and, in anticipation of the fuller information which the evidence will give us, we may review the prospects opened out in the Report. The public offices already housed in permanent abodes are the Treasury and four Secretariats of State—Home, Foreign, Colonial, Indian. The Local Government Board no longer dwells in tabernacles, and the Privy Council Office may or may not, but probably will not, stop where it is. The War Office is disgracefully housed in hovels; and—as we fancy, will come out when the blue-book appears—the Admiralty is very little, if at all, better off; while minor departments, such as the Board of Trade, the Public Works, the Woods and Forests, and the Pay Office stand in need of fresh habitations; while the more modern luxuries of administration, such as Temporary Commissions and the Civil Service Organization, with its Chinese multiplicity of examinations, remind their creators that, if they are to live, they must have wherein to live. Another large class of departments connected with the revenue do not come into question, as they are far more conveniently placed at Somerset House or in the City than if brought down to Westminster.

Of the problem thus reduced to workable dimensions three solutions were offered to the Committee. One of them we hope we may dismiss, although it is not without influential recommendations. This is to take the site made up of old Fife House and its grounds, and of part of the reclaimed ground to the south of the extension of Whitehall Place and abutting against the public garden, and there to place the War Office (which all agree must first be rebuilt) as well as any other offices for which there may be room. This site is inconveniently distant both from the Houses of Parliament and the other offices. It will have no facade to Whitehall and a bad one to the Embankment, while it will be overhung by the bulk of Charing Cross Bridge. The recommendation that the ground is already public property is fallacious; for, if disposed of for private houses of handsome designs, it may be made very profitable and not unsightly.

The choice lies between two other sites. The one promoted by Sir HENRY HUNT has in some shape been long before the public. He takes for a presumed 1,300,000*l.* 133,000 superficial feet, forming the entirety of the block bounded by the Foreign and India Offices, Parliament Street, St. James's Park, and Great George Street, and reaching, at the south-west angle, to Story's Gate, and on this he proposes to place the War Office, Admiralty and Council Offices; to make a razza of old Downing Street; to add a story to the existing Treasury; and, by grouping the minor offices and the Horse Guards (which would not be disturbed as a building), to leave the actual Admiralty site at the disposal of the Government.

The third suggestion (which was first made public before the Committee) is due to Mr. MITFORD, the permanent Secretary of the Office of Works. By it only the portion of the Great George Street and Parliament Street site abutting on the latter, and reaching a little to the west of Parliament Square, would be occupied and devoted to a new Admiralty. At the same time possession would preferentially be obtained, in addition to the existing Admiralty and Spring Gardens, of all the buildings up to and inclusive of DRUMMOND'S Bank; and within this area the Mall would be extended to Charing Cross, while a new War Office and other useful public buildings would replace what is now the Admiralty, with facades both to Whitehall and to the Parade and Park. In this case also the external aspect of the Horse Guards would not be interfered with. There is a difference of opinion as to the cost of this plan between Mr. MITFORD and Sir H. HUNT; but it seems certain that Mr. MITFORD

would gain twenty-five per cent. ground in excess of Sir H. HUNT.

This scheme would not present a continuous range of public buildings along St. James's Park, and down to Story's Gate, but, like Sir H. HUNT's suggestion, it would complete Parliament Square, and bring the Offices into proximity with the Houses of Parliament. For this loss, however, the grand group of buildings lining the Parade would be more than a compensation, if only the very difficult problem be solved of building up to, and yet not oppressing, the Horse Guards. That masterpiece of KENT is probably a happy accident, and any structure which professed to extend it might, in hands to which its *motif* was unfamiliar, be bald if not grotesque, while the artist, if he adopted a more ornate treatment, might not improbably crush it. On the whole, while we prefer Mr. MITFORD's plan, we see no little architectural difficulties ahead as to this part of it. The treatment of the southern mass of offices has also its own peculiar complications which will tax the architect's invention. The new Admiralty block belongs to quite a different group, including Westminster Abbey and the Houses of Parliament, and then what the architect would have to consider, supposing the courageous course not adopted of designing it so as really to match the vast structures already on the ground, would be how to hit off that early and very graceful phase of Renaissance which grew fresh out of Gothic, and which, as at Venice and at the Certosa of Pavia, stands side by side with it, in a contrast which is piquant because it avoids being harsh.

THE AMERICAN RAILWAY STRIKES.

THE railway disturbances in America would perhaps excite more attention but for a general and well-founded conviction that lawful authority will ultimately prevail. The strike extends over seven States and over several railway systems; in some places the troops have been defeated by the mob; elsewhere they have refused to do their duty; several railway stations have been wrecked or burnt; and there has been considerable loss of life. The most serious conflicts have occurred at Baltimore and Pittsburg; and down to the beginning of the present week the riots were still spreading and increasing. Even the temporary triumph of a lawless populace is a misfortune, inasmuch as it interrupts the habit of acquiescence which is the best security for social order. The railway malcontents will probably have reason to regret a success which will incline all the respectable portion of the community to sympathize with their employers. The Railway Boards, if they have but ordinary foresight and firmness, will refuse all concessions to violence in the certainty that they will ultimately be the winners. The rioters may cause inconvenience and alarm; but the Company can better afford to suspend their traffic than the engine-drivers and stokers to subsist without wages. The interruption of business and locomotion will cause deep resentment, and there will be no misapprehension as to the responsibility of the rioters. The monstrous outrage of burning at Pittsburg rolling stock worth three-quarters of a million sterling will not be readily forgiven. The crime may, perhaps, have been committed by the lowest rabble; but the railway servants ought to have foreseen the consequences of their defiance of lawful authority. The whole transaction illustrates the incompetency of political institutions to prevent social and economical disturbances. Occurrences of the same kind in England would be probably attributed by agitators and democratic theorists to anomalies and inequalities in the suffrage. In Maryland, in West Virginia, and in Pennsylvania, every artisan, mechanic, and railway porter has a vote, though the part of the constituency which depends on weekly wages is probably a minority. The most serious incident of the present contest is the sympathy which is felt for the rioters by the Militia in the disturbed States. Except in the South, where special difficulties are caused by the conflict of races, the regular army has rarely been required to perform the duties of police. The small detachment of which alone the PRESIDENT could dispose for the moment is insufficient in numbers to restore the supremacy of law, if the rioters prove to be contumacious; but perhaps a wholesome respect for the flag of the Union may in New York, as lately in Louisiana, discourage seditious resistance. The necessity of applying to the PRESIDENT for aid must have been felt by the State Government as an unusual humiliation. If the Governors of all

the disturbed States have similarly acknowledged their inability to preserve the peace, the authority of some of the greatest and oldest States of the Union will have been gravely discredited. The actual rioters form an insignificant fraction of the whole community; and, except in Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Pittsburg, traders, farmers, and owners of property probably outnumber the workmen and artisans who may be supposed to favour a strike for wages. Although the railway mutineers act on principles which have long prevailed in Philadelphia, it can scarcely be supposed that conscience or logic has made cowards of the militiamen of a Protectionist State.

The chronic conspiracy of producers against consumers has never been more consistently prosecuted than in Pennsylvania. The rails on which trains have temporarily ceased to run, and the engines which are thrown out of work, have probably cost twice their natural prices, because the local ironmasters have combined to levy a burdensome tax on their neighbours. The desire for a profitable monopoly has now descended to the engine-drivers and their assistants, to the great inconvenience of the capitalists whose example they follow, as well as of society at large. The doctrine of selfishness is perhaps professed in a simpler or more naked form by Trades-Unionists than by protected manufacturers who contrive to delude others, if not themselves, by an affectation of patriotism. In England, and probably in the United States, the literature of strikes is pervaded by the assumption that capital is the enemy of labour, or, in less metaphorical language, that the working classes should care for nobody but themselves. In America and on the Continent of Europe, manufacturers and the politicians who flatter them generally profess a disinterested jealousy of the commercial aggressions of England. In this spirit M. JULES SIMON has lately protested against the suspicion that a Republican Ministry could by any chance have preferred the welfare of the whole community to the private interests of cotton-spinners and iron-founders. The Government and Legislature of Pennsylvania would repudiate the charge of indifference to the protection of indigenous industry. The workmen on the Baltimore and Ohio Railway in turn regard both employers and rival candidates for employment as natural enemies, to be annoyed and plundered as far as circumstances may allow. It may be conjectured that, among the rank and file of the State Militia, there are many workmen in various trades who contemplate the possibility of other strikes for wages. Railway proprietors would, as capitalists, be excluded from popular sympathy, even if it were not known that they included a large proportion of foreigners, who are universally regarded as proper victims of spoliation. Passengers and freighters must share the disregard which is felt for consumers in nearly all parts of the world.

By a happy exception, England, beyond the limits of Trade-Unions, has alone among civilized nations heartily adopted the principles of Free-trade. The sole cause of exemption from a widespread error has been the accident that the Corn Laws were formerly maintained in the supposed interest of an aristocratic minority. If land had been subdivided in England as in France, Protection would be in full vigour at this day; but against a small number of privileged landowners a Free-trade agitation was popular, and it proved to be irresistible. When the Corn Laws were repealed, the manufacturers who had demanded cheap bread happened to be strong enough to defy foreign competition; and consequently Free-trade was established by universal consent. The skilled artisans alone took up the abandoned theory of Protection, though their efforts have been directed, not against foreigners, but against their own countrymen. The theory that clothes exist for the sake of tailors, and hats for the benefit of hatters, was propounded thirty years ago with crude and passionate earnestness in *Alton Locke* and other popular publications. In West Virginia and Pennsylvania the rioters and their friends in the Militia practically assert the proposition that stokers and engine-drivers are the ultimate objects of railway construction. The truth that hats were designed to cover heads and railways to convey passengers and goods requires, though it is not recondite, to be seen through a non-refracting medium. It is easy to understand the popular feeling that men who work ought to enjoy a larger share of the products of labour; but it might occur to the advocates of Trade-Unions that the most immediate sufferers by strikes are often of the same class with the malcontent workmen. The reduction of wages which caused the strike on the Balti-

more and Ohio Railway was a consequence of stagnation of trade, which is necessarily accompanied by scarcity of employment. It appears that competent persons are ready and eager to supply the vacancies on the railway at the reduced rate of wages. It is against the outside candidates for employment that the violence of the men on strike is primarily directed. The struggle of labour against capital is generally at the same time a struggle of labour against labour, and the claims of the workmen are also necessarily adverse to the interests of the consuming community.

The people of the United States, among other great qualities, enjoy a fortunate immunity from pedantic deference to verbal logic. The Protectionists of Pennsylvania will not be restrained by scruples of consistency from repressing a seditious movement for the protection of a certain class of workmen. It is satisfactory to learn that the respectable citizens in the disturbed districts are ready to act as special constables; and even if the local Government finds itself incapable of restoring order, the whole force of the Union will, if necessary, be exerted in vindication of lawful authority. In the same State a number of Irish miners lately held a large district in terror during a strike for wages; and some of them even resorted to murder in pursuance of their purpose; but the over-zealous champions of labour found that, in leaving their own country, they had not left law behind them. About the time when Mr. BRIGHT eloquently praised WILLIAM PENN for dispensing with capital punishment, a dozen of the delinquent miners were hanged in a batch by the Government of Pennsylvania. It may be hoped that the railway mutineers will not expose themselves to the same penalty; but it would be a far graver misfortune that their defiance of law should be rewarded by success. In the meantime, they will not have failed to accomplish abundant mischief. The frauds of Railway Boards and the unprincipled legislation of some of the Western States had already discouraged English capitalists who might otherwise have invested money in American railways. The lawless seizure of many of the principal lines by the engineers and stokers discloses an additional risk to bondholders. Attempts of the same kind have been defeated in some Northern States; but the present strike seems to be unusually formidable.

THE CATTLE-PLAUE COMMITTEE.

IT is scarcely fair perhaps to consider the recommendations of the Cattle-Plague Committee apart from the arguments on which they are professedly founded. There may be reasons for their conclusions which are not apparent when the conclusions alone are stated. What we shall say, therefore, must be taken rather as indications of the points on which justification seems to be needed than as an expression of opinion that this justification is not forthcoming. The recommendations appear to be a combination of two opposite lines of opinion on the cattle plague. The Report is not exactly a compromise, because the two views which appear in it are presented side by side; half the recommendations seem to have been suggested by one section of the Committee and half by the other. The argument in favour of prohibiting import of cattle is that it is impossible to take any adequate precautions against the movement of cattle when they have once been introduced into the country; or that, even if it is theoretically possible to take them, the restrictions involved are too vexatious to be imposed with any chance of getting them obeyed. The argument in favour of permitting the import of cattle is that the interference with the meat supply of the country involved in prohibition is so serious an injury to consumers that it is better to take all practicable precautions against the spread of the disease, and, in so far as it defies our efforts, to bear it as patiently as we can. The recommendations of the Select Committee go a long way in the direction of prohibition; but they do not propose to relax any of the restrictions which have hitherto been submitted to as a substitute for prohibition. In the event of a Bill, founded on their Report, being introduced and passed, the importation of cattle from Germany, Russia, and Belgium will be absolutely prohibited, while the importation of cattle from other countries will only be permitted on condition of every beast being slaughtered at the place of landing. So far the advocates of prohibition have everything their own way. In

the next recommendation the opponents of prohibition begin a return match. The stock in the metropolitan markets is not to be removed except for slaughter. In infected districts the present severe regulations are to remain in force. All movement of cattle is forbidden, and fairs and markets are to be stopped. In towns all cattle-sheds are to be subjected to inspection. The charge for compensation is hereafter to be thrown on the Consolidated Fund, and the compensation in cases of pleuro-pneumonia is to be the same as in cases of cattle-plague.

The disclosure of the means by which the Committee expect to maintain the distinction between cattle from Germany, Russia, and Belgium, and cattle from other countries, will be looked for with much interest. In the absence of the data on which the recommendation is founded, we are wholly unable to divine how the Committee have been brought to believe that this is possible. The only expedient which occurs to us is, that a staff of travelling Inspectors shall be maintained in the three countries from which importation is forbidden, with orders to accompany every beast that crosses the frontier until such time as it is slaughtered for some other than an English table. Without some machinery of this kind, how are the cattle that find their way to Rotterdam to be sorted according to their nationalities? No disobedience to the law need be dreaded, even on the part of foreigners, who are under no obligation to obey it. The naturalization of foreign cattle is not a difficult process. It is effected by the sale of them by a dealer belonging to one country and the purchase of them by a dealer belonging to another country. What is to prevent the decrease in the importation of cattle from Germany, Russia, and Belgium from being balanced, in consequence of the adoption of the Committee's recommendations, by an equal increase in the importation of cattle from Holland? If the German or Russian dealer desires to go on sending cattle to England, he will consign them in the first instance to a Dutchman. When they have become the property of a Dutchman, how will it be possible to ascertain their original domicile? Of course, if the ubiquitous Inspector is on the watch, and can testify that he has followed each particular beast from the day that it left Russia or Germany until the day when, under a false flag, it seeks to effect an entrance into England, the necessary proof will be supplied. As it is highly improbable that the Committee have agreed to this remarkable extension of the inspectorate, we must suppose either that they think the word of the dealer who ships the cattle for England a sufficient security against getting cattle of the forbidden nationalities imported from Holland, or that they think the improvement of Dutch trade an object of sufficient importance to be directly furthered by English legislation. Anyhow the result will be that the restrictions on importation which the Committee suggest will, as regards their efficient operation, be reduced to one. All cattle arriving from countries other than Germany, Russia, and Belgium, including under this head all cattle arriving from Germany, Russia, and Belgium under other names, will be slaughtered at the place of landing.

The objection to this proposal, from the point of view of the consumer, is a very grave one. It retains an exceedingly costly and wasteful mode of supplying the English market with meat, and it offers no direct inducement to the substitution of a less costly and wasteful mode. Under the ordinary system of importation, the dealer who ships the cattle to England looks to getting rid of them immediately upon their arrival. If the demand for meat at the moment is not sufficient to ensure a purchaser for immediate slaughter, there will be abundance of dealers who will be glad to buy on favourable terms, in order to have a supply ready when the demand springs up. But, if all foreign cattle are to be slaughtered at the place of landing, the foreign dealer must either consent to sell at once, no matter at what loss, or to make arrangements for keeping the cattle at the place of landing, duly tended, and supplied with food and water until such time as he can sell at a profit. If he takes the former course, the market will be flooded from time to time with more meat than is wanted, and a glut to-day will be followed by a scarcity to-morrow. If he takes the latter course, he will probably find the expense so great, and what is worse, so varying, that he will gradually cease to send cattle to England. Supposing, on the other hand, that the importation of cattle into England were wholly forbidden, the foreign dealer would at once turn his mind to the possibility of sending over dead meat. He would then learn that the

importation of meat into England is already considerable, and that the mechanical difficulties which till lately stood in the way have already been, or are on the high road to being, completely removed. Every fresh cargo of dead meat which is landed in England is a step in the development of a traffic which has a future before it. Every fresh cargo of live cattle imported into England is a survival from a traffic which can only look back to a not specially glorious past. By making total prohibition the rule we should, according to the most probable opinion, guard completely against any recurrence of the cattle-plague, and at the same time encourage a trade which in a short time would make the consumer feel that the cattle-plague has proved his best friend. The insistence on slaughter at the place of landing is an improvement on the present system in that it makes the spread of the cattle-plague all but impossible; but it would be exceedingly unfortunate if the prevention of disease were attained in a way which would tend to diminish the meat supply of the country, instead of in a way which would tend to increase it.

As on either hypothesis the plague would be stamped out, the recommendations of the Committee on the questions of compensation do not call for much notice. If there were any likelihood that the disease would continue to break out from time to time, there would be very serious objections to any plan which charged the cost of compensation on the Consolidated Fund. If compensation for slaughtering cattle is paid out of the taxes, there will be no effectual check upon those who claim it. The surrounding farmers will feel no interest in watching their neighbours' proceedings, because the loss to them will be distributed over so large an area that it will seem trifling in comparison with the gain to the particular owner. A farmer who objects to the grant of compensation on the score that the claimant did not take proper precautions to keep the plague at a distance, when he himself has only to find a fractional part of that compensation, would be set down as an ill-conditioned person who grudges a neighbour an advantage. A farmer who objects to the grant of compensation on this same ground when the compensation is paid out of the universally detested rates will be regarded as a public benefactor. To relieve local rates is always a matter of doubtful policy; but when the relief from payment is also a relief from all inducement to keep the payments low, the policy ceases to be doubtful, and becomes positively mischievous. Only minute local observation can ensure economy in relief where the interest of the particular sufferer is diametrically opposed to the interest of the community. To charge compensation for slaughtered cattle on the Consolidated Fund would be an invitation to the farming class to put their hands into the public pocket.

OLD-FASHIONEDNESS.

THERE is a distinctive quality to which it is not easy to give a name, which strikes us when we are young mainly through externals, but which experience shows as an inner pervading element in some characters—as more than a characteristic—a ruling influence. As it affects externals, we will call it old-fashionedness; as it governs thought and action, we prefer to designate it stationariness. Under both conditions it is equally an enemy to change, and as such equally inspires confidence. Exhibited externally, it conveys to the observer an impression of weight, gravity, and respectability. As guiding conduct, it passes for steadfastness. The old-fashioned person in garb and manner is trusted on that account, sometimes most undeservedly; though the errors which lurk under this respectable disguise may probably have a more sleepy origin than the scheming, designing order of fraud which naturally arrays itself in modern costume. The man who is stationary in his opinions is credited with strength of character, judiciousness, firmness of will, and clear-sightedness. To form an opinion and to hold it fast to the end is assumed to mean that the opinion was formed on deliberate grounds, and that those grounds have been reviewed as years pass and circumstances change. No doubt there really are persons who hold certain guiding opinions from first to last, in their original form and wording, under these conditions; but there are more men who think a thing to-day because they thought it yesterday, without added thought and investigation, with whom habit takes the place of scrutiny, who think always the same because change would be an effort out of their line, and, as time goes on, out of their power. For people to be on the watch for opportunities of change, to scrutinize opinions in this spirit, as a mere intellectual diversion, argues that the possessor can set no value on them; all grave and serious opinions ought to be cherished as part of a man's self. But to hold such opinions from day to day and year to year is only noble on the assumption that they are subject to a conscientious

survey, and are brought constantly to the test of the mind's highest powers. Steadfastness implies this action of the conscience and intellect; it involves a power of understanding temptation and of recognizing the good points and merits of the thing rejected or resisted; it implies a permanent, deliberate act of choosing what is believed to be the best, though this, as being a habit of the mind, may not be a conscious act. Mere stationariness is passivity, and as such may hold its ground.

as the weakest things, if frost
Have stiffened them, maintain their post.

It is but a temperament, though the hold it keeps on first impressions and prejudices so much resembles the action of its seeming counterpart, which is essentially a moral and intellectual quality.

However, we are not disputing that, merely as a matter of temperament, stationariness has an important part to play as a drag upon excessive energy whether of thought or invention. There is no doubt that a dread of novelty is assumed by the majority, and that without inquiry, to be a praiseworthy quality. People in professing it always rely upon the sympathy of the more responsible and serious of their acquaintance. There is no novelty or fashion introduced but it encounters a snub from this worthy class. But this brings us to the action of this temper upon externals. What is new is on the face of it absurd, or extravagant, or unbecoming; it awakens the inquiry, What next? what is the world coming to? All domestic improvements have had to push their way against the protests or the contempt of the steady well-to-do classes, who, having accommodated themselves to the inconveniences of existing domestic conditions, have acquired a preference for them over the suspicious easements of modern ingenuity. This contentment up to a certain point may be allowed to be a social virtue. The restless aim at improvement, at mending what habit has made tolerable, is a worrying temper more trying to those exposed to it than some graver defects of character. Life naturally slips along most easily under the ministrations of the things, animate or inanimate, to which we are used. From this point of view, then, we may observe the use of fashion in dress as a vent for that love of change belonging to the more active spirits which may by its means be indulged without reasonable disturbance to phlegmatic natures. We say "reasonable," because the love of things as they are often drives the phlegmatic into an aggressive and impudent tone, even when their own liberty is not touched. They are apt to indulge their constitutional preference for what they are used to, and to proclaim their disdain of novelties in costume among other things, under cover of moral indignation at the follies of the age. A plausible charge, if not a just one, can always be found against what has its way to make, and it does not belong to the spirit of cavil and objection to discern what novelty is destined to be evanescent and what to hold its ground. There were people who hoped to put down railways by frowning upon them. The use of tea was in the same spirit denounced as men now denounce beer; and such a slight innovation as black-edged paper was, on its first introduction in the middle of last century, declared in print to be a ridiculous affectation. To recognise a fitness in what is strange belongs to those who keep their fancy awake by exercise; and this is more especially the case in the matter of dress. Dr. Borlase, the Cornish pastor of whom we have read lately, furnishes an illustration to our point. No cottage family, he complained, is without its tea-kettle, and not a girl above fifteen but has her scarlet cloak. It is curious to observe how protest in one age turns into fanatical approval in another. What would the old-fashioned now say to a cottage without its tea-kettle? while the scarlet cloak has become a symbol of the good old time when people knew their place, and the women were content with their own station in life and did not dream of dressing like their betters. All fashions, in fact, come in with the young. Old women never invent them for themselves, or sit down to construct an appropriate costume. They adapt to their altered circumstances what youth and beauty have brought into vogue. The old woman's scarlet cloak has become a tender memory, a craving of the eye, a venerable symbol of the good old days, a thing associated with comely wrinkles and all the decencies of life's decay; but it came in on young shoulders as an envied novelty and smartness, a piece of self-adornment without any thought of its effect on the landscape, and, being such, an emblem of change, vanity, and pretension. In truth, old-fashioned people are indebted for all their dearest prejudices to the love of novelty, and what they would call the caprice, of a former generation.

There has always been in England a strong party for variety, as such, in opposition to this blind conservatism, often no doubt showing itself awkwardly enough, but yet indicating in its way a love of liberty and the power of attaining and securing it. Shakespeare laughs at his countrymen for their whimsical love of variety in costume, borrowing from all countries, fixed in nothing. And a French Franciscan writing for the ladies of Louis XIII.'s Court seems to allude to the same openness to change as a merit in the English, saying, "They who blame the English for their inconstancy herein would do better to quit their slavish opinion which restrains them from following the fashion for fear of not dressing like their great-grandmothers. Excess is everywhere blamable, especially in novelties. It is folly to contemn them and vanity to embrace them. As I approve not of those who, with too much anxiety, look out for new fashions, I cannot esteem those who part with regret from their high heads and farthingales. This obstinacy arises from self-love. They render their age ridiculous,

and are so full of ceremonies that they only make the decay of time and the defects of nature more observable in them." There is, indeed, nothing that fixes itself more permanently on the memory of childhood than any conspicuous relic of a former date in the matter of costume. What is old and past seems to the child such a startling anomaly and contrast to the world with which its mind is beginning to be familiar. An antique fashion is never set off by this mode of display. Rugged elderly faces, harsh and severe in their lines, burly or attenuated forms, or simply queer ones—these characteristics of age in its least lovely aspect are all brought prominently forward to the consideration of the infantile critic by being set in the frame of an obsolete garb, and perhaps teach it its first lesson in satire, and a most impudent one. An exceeding quaintness may owe its hold on the wearers to causes which should exempt them from comment; a resolute singularity may get possession as a fixed habit, through very opposite mental characteristics; but to the child it is simply a mystery, a mystery with no reverence attaching to it, why such an old lady wears a bonnet, or a turban, or a wig, in violent distinction from the prevailing mode, or why such an elderly gentleman cuts a figure to which childish experience presents no parallel.

Such prominent and extreme examples are of course an exception to the ordinary interpretation of old-fashionedness, and are probably due to very different influences from those which simply keep people some ten years behind their neighbours; though of course one prevailing motive must be suspected in every case—the notion, we mean, that whatever good looks the wearer possesses are best set off and preserved by adhering to the style which in early life most completely satisfied the taste, whether as becoming or distinguished, or as most remote from the vulgarisms of the period. The reigning beauty of one date is apt to be an illustration of the old-fashioned in another; and quite naturally and, as one may say, innocently, for the people about her see her by the light of what she was, and cannot bear a change which contradicts this delusion. But many very nice people are old-fashioned without knowing it, simply from want of observation or care about the matter; more are so on the moral ground of protest against prevalent enormities and outrages against taste; many, again, because they require more time to get used to a fashion than their neighbours, and only learn to admire it when all the rest of their acquaintance leave it off. In questions of costume, women come naturally foremost as examples, but a resolute revolt against the fashion of the day has been a characteristic of some remarkable men. Talleyrand was hideous for adhering to the voluminous folds of neckcloths which were once the fashion, and which in his case hid his whole chin from view. We read of foreign statesmen clinging to the *petit-maitre* style long after the world had discarded it. We may say that it is the tendency of all distinction, of whatever brings a man very prominently before the world, to dispose him to keep as he is, if not in all points, at least in some one favourite particular. But this is not to be old-fashioned in our sense; nobody whose mind is thoroughly occupied by the present is so.

But we have lingered on what is but a part of our subject. Dress is not more an external than manner; some hidden influence dictates, forms, and directs them both. We imagine that any one who has given his mind to manner as manner comes to be old-fashioned in manner at last, just as Beau Brummel, who was an arbiter of dress in his youth, did in dress. Those who became acquainted with Horace Walpole in his old age described him as the relic of the fine-gentleman period; his gait and address all spoke of a dandified past. Whoever has been habitually satisfied with his own deportment, and at the same time a critic of others, is sure to be a signal instance of this quality. There are people whose whole tone sends our thoughts wandering to their antecedents for some trick of precision or grace of tournaire. People who are only solicitous to express themselves are not old-fashioned as life gets on; but those who adopt a style, who dwell on their words complacently, who set themselves to say things neatly and with point, will certainly furnish telling examples—pleasant examples probably, for felicity of expression is not the less felicitous because it carries the hearer back to a former generation for its source and training. In fact, while we treat old-fashionedness, and stationariness too, as in a certain sense shortcomings from the perfect model, it is impossible not to recall many instances which have excited a regard all the tenderer for this little weakness or gentle obstinacy, and one feels a certain satisfaction in the confidence that representatives of them will never be wanting in the world, and will always be exercising a useful part in it.

DOMESTIC ECONOMY IN BIRMINGHAM.

IT would be difficult to say why the Congress held last week at Birmingham has been more nearly a success than gatherings of this miscellaneous kind usually are. It was started by Sir Henry Cole, and most of the leading men of the town stood aloof from it, as to them South Kensington seems a sort of Nazareth. The local parochial clergy did not honour it with their presence. The "noble chairman" who was to have presided was represented by a note of apology. The weather was uninterruptedly wet and muggy. The hall of conference was entirely without means of ventilation, and seemed to have been originally intended for a

Turkish bath. In the body of the room it was impossible to hear any speaker who did not throw his sentences like balls at the audience. There was a great deal of clever nonsense and stupid absurdity in many of the speeches. But, notwithstanding all these circumstances, and perhaps even in consequence of them, some good work was done which will have more important results than any one merely reading an abstract of the proceedings would be likely to infer. It would have been quite impossible in the twelve working hours to which the Congress was limited to discuss properly in all its aspects even one of the dozen subjects selected. The area chosen was far too wide. The number of side questions which people with crotchetts were able to drag in impeded the serious business considerably. Had not the secretaries of sections acted with the utmost good humour and decision, the whole affair would have been a ludicrous failure. They rigidly enforced the rules as to the time allowed for each paper, and in many cases it was considered as read because it was already in the hands of the audience in a printed form. Ten minutes was allowed to each speaker in the discussions, and if he wandered from the subject in hand he was ruthlessly brought back to his *moutons*. Birmingham people are evidently not in the habit of having their time wasted in palaver.

It was amusing to see a "Professor of Dietetic Pathology" gathering up the reins in order to ride his pet hobby before such an unwontedly distinguished audience. He proved to his own satisfaction that no one knew how to feed babies properly, and expressed his strong condemnation of some Hungarian flour exhibited in a neighbouring room. Then he carefully extracted from his purse something white, which turned out to be a child's tooth. This he exhibited for the purpose of instancing his theories. He held it up with an expression of profound belief in having something truly important to communicate to the world, and was proceeding to introduce to the notice of mothers his own infallible food, which would add the thirty-fifth part of an inch of enamel to their children's teeth, when a sharp peck from the strong-minded chairwoman stopped him at the critical moment to which all the time he had been leading up. The poor man vanished from the platform, leaving even the few people who were near enough to hear what he said in profound darkness as to his invaluable discovery. Perhaps they might find the unuttered part of his speech in the advertisement column of some newspaper, or on a London street hoarding. A foreign Countess, who appears to have been received with open arms on the production of her visiting card, was unavoidably prevented from reading a paper she had prepared for the occasion. "A telegram from the Charity Organization Society seems to have been the cause of this mishap. It was almost a pity the telegram was not 'delayed in transmission,' as the mere magic word countess seemed to send a thrill through the audience. This may, however, have simply been owing to the repulsion which all good Radicals feel at the thought of being contaminated by the touch of a bloated aristocrat."

Next to Professor Huxley, perhaps the speaker listened to by the natives with most respect and attention was Miss Helen Taylor. She rose several times, and elicited continuous rounds of applause on every occasion. Evidently the floating far-away land in which this daughter of the prophets dwells had for these practical people the charm of the mysterious and the unknown. Miss Taylor's Parliamentary mode of speaking, the volume and roll of her sentences, the graceful tap of her fan on the table to give emphasis, the dry jokes she offers to weak humanity, as if with a pair of sugar-tongs, and a charming little deprecatory bow and smile, the touching bit of sentiment so dexterously dovetailed into its place—all these captivated her audience, as it was no doubt intended that they should do, for her own good and wise purpose. If we heard rightly some scoffer mutter "Up in a balloon," he ought at once to have been lynched by putting him into the pouring rain outside. He was not worthy to listen to such noble sentiments. Miss Taylor looks forward to a time when our social arrangements shall have so much improved that co-operative housekeeping will be the rule amongst the working classes; "when married women will be able to devote their attention to the better education of their children, and the unmarried to work and labour, and by the fruits of their labour lay by a little money for their own old age, or to begin domestic life with when they are married." She thinks it is perhaps, on the whole, a providential arrangement that, amongst the well-to-do classes, the gentlemen who are tempted to eat too much by the good cooking at their clubs were not liable to similar temptations at home. She disapproves of teaching children cooking, for fear their mothers would think them intolerable prigs, and not allow them to practise their lessons at home. She considers a philosophical training more valuable for a young servant than domestic economy, and believes the good health of our English working-men is owing to the fact that their wives cook so badly, and that they will not put up with wishy-washy soup. But Miss Taylor touched upon one subject on which she had the whole sympathy of her audience, and that was the necessity of trying to secure some endowments for girls' schools. She considered that girls should learn domestic management as a trade in the same way that boys learned what was necessary to enable them to earn a livelihood, and that scholarships should be founded for cooking, nursing, and other useful subjects. These scholarships she would offer to the competition of those girls who had passed the highest standards in our elementary schools. Subsequent speakers suggested that the £10,000 at present used for pauperizing the working classes by doles might be devoted to the foundation of secondary education for girls. One gentleman men-

tioned that in the parish of Wolverley there was a very important endowment, consisting of land in London, which in a few years would bring in a large income, and by the end of the century something enormous. The Charity Commissioners were permitting the money to be applied to perpetuating a system by which a certain number of aged men and women could go and receive a loaf of bread and some money, if they presented themselves at the Sunday evening service at their parish church. The subject of provident dispensaries was brought forward, but there was little or no discussion, every one seeming to be agreed upon the desirability of establishing such institutions, at least in all large towns. Canon Boulby calculated that, for a subscription of three shillings a year, a man ought to be able to have, not only the very best medical advice and medicines, but also skilled nursing and admission into hospital when treatment could not be so advantageously given at home. An interesting and practical paper was read upon workmen's homes, and another upon house drains and their relation to health. Mr. Bartley ably advocated school penny banks, and made some most valuable remarks upon the good to be done by encouraging thrift in children from babyhood. He censured the practice in schools of carelessness with regard to slates, pencils, books, paper, and desks, showing what a bad effect it had in encouraging habits of thoughtless waste. Mr. Bartley also spoke strongly of the importance of not allowing time to be frittered away in listless half attention, but insisting on thorough work and thorough play.

It was easy to see, however, that, with regard to the greater number of members, their interest centred entirely upon the questions connected with education, particularly those involved in the new code, which includes domestic training. Loud and bitter were the complaints on all sides with regard to the Government Inspectors, and melancholy the prophecies as to the sufferings in store for managers of schools when the extra subjects come into the field. The mere mention of the young senior wranglers who, fresh from college, try to overrule the opinions of men who have spent their lives in teaching, brought a groan from more than one part of the room. A remarkable answer given to a Government Inspector by a little girl in the fourth standard, who was asked what she had done on the previous Saturday, was read. It was a most graphic and lucid account, showing intelligence and precision of statement. On the back of the paper was written, "Can't do it"; whether owing to some mistakes in spelling, and the want of knowledge where to put the capital letters, we do not know, but it ought to have had an extra good mark, instead of being pronounced a failure. The vicar of Tamworth, who every now and then threw out some startling suggestion or snuffed out some unpractical proposal, thought the "surprise" visits of Inspectors might be turned to a useful purpose. If he had his will, he would make the grant depend upon the general efficiency of the school, not the proficiency of children on certain points; for he felt convinced that, with the multiplication of subjects, it would be found perfectly impossible to carry on the system of examinations by results. Mr. McCarthy made a bold proposal, which met with a considerable amount of support. He said:—

It appears to me that a great gain on all sides will accrue if the work of Her Majesty's Inspectors be confined, as far as examination is concerned, to the ordinary subjects, reading, writing, arithmetic, history, geography, grammar, and the specific subjects of a literary kind—namely, English literature, Latin, French, German, and, in addition, mathematics—surely a wide enough range of knowledge for one man—and that the other subjects, singing and music, and needlework (Code, Art. 19), domestic economy (not restricted to girls), mechanics, animal physiology, physical geography, and botany (Fourth Schedule), and such subjects as mensuration, agricultural chemistry, physics, practical cookery, &c., to be hereafter added, be placed under other examiners, under the direction of the Science and Art Department of the Committee of Privy Council on Education or some other body.

The general feeling of members at the end of the Congress cannot be better expressed than by an extract nearly a century old, which the Earl of Lichfield had intended to read if he had been able to be present, and which he put into the hands of the Secretary:—

This economy in all cases is the more to be urged because the difference in comforts of the same families, at the same expense, well or ill conducted, is greater often than that of different families at different expenses. There is more difference, comparatively, in the mode of living from economy than from income. The deficiency in income may possibly be made up by increase of work or wages; but the want of economy is irremediable, and the least income in question with it will do more than the greatest without it. No master can in the first place afford wages; next, no overseer can make allowance; lastly, no magistrate can order relief enough on any calculation but that of their being severally well managed. If the poor do not prudently serve themselves, none can effectually assist them; if they are not their own friends, none can sufficiently befriend them. The idle in procuring, or the wasteful in using, the means of subsistence, have neither merit in themselves to deserve, nor have others power to grant them that supply which is alone due, and can be alone afforded, to the honest, industrious, and prudent. It highly, then, interests all conversant with the poor, who ought to be literally all, and it is hoped are most, to consult and co-operate with them in the practice of economy; it is far more useful to teach them to spend less, or to save a little, than to give them much more.

~~THE SARMON GULF.~~

TRAVELLING in Greece has in some measure to be done backwards. The stranger who reaches Athens, as it will often be convenient to reach it, by way of Syra, and who does not mean to cross the bounds of the Greek kingdom, will naturally take Athens on his way homewards. The voyage from Syra to

Athens is a voyage made from the rising to the setting sun. In the like sort Athens itself is the practical centre for many points which lie to the west of it, and which geographically form further steps on the return journey. To a traveller of the age of Pausanias, one of the earliest of antiquarian travellers in the modern sense, Athens might have seemed a strange centre for a journey in the Argolic land, with Mykéné as its main object. Mykéné was in his day as desolate as it is now; but Argos and Corinth were in a very different case. In his day Argos and Corinth were united by a carriage road, as there is hope that they may before long be united again. The sea was then less thoroughly the highway of Hellas than it had been in earlier times, or than it has become again in later times. Now the traveller who has not a frame of extra hardihood will most likely look on Mykéné and what naturally goes with Mykéné as an excursion to be done from the capital, an excursion as great a part of which as possible is to be made by water. That is to say, the most natural approach to the Argolic land will be to most travellers by sea from Peiraeus to Nauplia. The traveller will thus begin his researches with one of those charming voyages among islands and peninsulas which form so special a feature in Greek travel. The voyage from Peiraeus to Nauplia strongly brings out some of the characteristics of Greek geography and history. As Sulpicius remarked long ago, famous cities lie close together. We better understand the nature of Greek polities and Greek warfare when we fully take in the fact that so many of the contending powers lay within sight of one another. This feeling comes strongly into the mind when we look down from such a point as the hill of Brescia and see the commonwealths of Lombardy grouped as it were in order before us. But there is a wide difference between commonwealths thus grouped, almost as it were in regular array, marked each by its tower rising from the boundless plain, and commonwealths the site of each of which forms a marked natural feature, an island, a promontory, an inland hill. We see why the duration of the Greek commonwealths was far longer than those of Lombardy, and why they were not in the same way easily brought together under the hands of a few powerful lords. Mr. Malaffy, who sometimes goes out of his way to write most remarkable nonsense about things which he has not studied, but who yields to few in keenness of observation on the things which he has studied, has some good remarks on the geographical separation between state and state which was brought about by the physical features of the country, above all by the mountain ranges. Athens and Thebes were, as modern states go, very near to one another; but Athens and Thebes had real difficulties in getting at one another. The sea indeed was, whether for peaceful or for warlike purposes, not a barrier but a highway. But just as the physical position of the Greek commonwealths gave them a more distinct national being, so the long and winding coasts of the islands and peninsulas on which so many of them were placed gave them, near as they lay together, an actual extent of territory altogether out of proportion to their nearness. Thus, short as the life of the commonwealths of ancient Greece seems to us, it was at least far longer than the life of the commonwealths of medieval Italy. Of the last the few that survived were just those whose geographical position enabled them to survive. Venice and Genoa speak for themselves; so does Ragusa on the other side of the great gulf. Lucca too, it has been well observed, was, just like Athens and Thebes, cut from its neighbour Pisa by mountains which hindered either of the once rival states from seeing each other.

With this train of thought in our minds, we may start on our voyage from Peiraeus to Nauplia, the first stage of our journey from Athens to Mykéné. The heights of Megaris, the Akrokrinthos itself, come within the distant view; but, as our course is marked out, of Megara and Corinth we shall see something more and nearer, while of the other states which border the gulf we take our nearest glimpse on the present voyage. From the akropolis of Athens, from not a few other points of Attic soil, we have looked down on the varied outlines of the two rocky islands which form the main features of the maritime landscape. Further from us lies Aigina, eyesore of Peiraeus; nearer lies Salamis, the proudest name, save one, in Athenian history. In the general view one island is as prominent as the other, and we naturally ask the cause of the wide difference in their history. Aigina is itself a famous island; Salamis is simply an island which became the scene of one of the most famous of events. One of those caprices of destiny which, above all, make and mar the fortunes of commercial states made Aigina for a while one of the great powers of Greece. The rival of Athens on the element which belonged to Aigina before it belonged to Athens, she became first the subject, then the victim, of her rival. So, when again an independent state in after days, she underwent a blow no less fearful at the hands of Rome and her Aitolian and Pergamene allies. Salamis has no such history. The isle of the Ainkids, the subject of the poetical oratory of Solon, once disputed between Megara and Athens, became an integral part of the Attic land, the scene of the great fight where Athenian and Aiginetan fought side by side against the barbarian. But Salamis had no share in the glories of Aigina, though she had some share in her sorrow. Aigina has a history of her own, though a history in which her relations towards Athens play the chief part. But the history of Salamis is simply a part of the history of Attica. Long indeed after the days of Solon or of Perikles she suffered at Athenian hands only less severely than Aigina had done. But that was when Athens, tossed to and fro from one Macedonian lord to another, suspected Salamis of

treacherous dealings with one to whom the city was for a while hostile. Salamis has again a separate being in the days of Kasandros, as Eleusis has again a separate being in the days of the Thirty. Is the cause of this difference between the conquered rival and the incorporated territory to be found in the fact that there was no power in the Argolic *Akté* which could possibly draw Aigina to itself—the island was far more likely to attract its neighbours on the mainland—while Salamis lay near enough to the Attic coast to come within the range of that strange influence which made the history of Attica so opposite to that of all other Hellenic lands? As Eleusis and Marathon could be fused into Athens, so could Salamis; but Aigina lay out of that influence, and lay within no other. Aigina, too powerful to be incorporated with Athens, became, as we have seen, the rival and victim of Athens, while Salamis, weaker and less powerful, became indeed her victim, but in the character, not of a foreign enemy, but of a home district charged with treason.

We pass then by Salamis. We muse on the great sea-fight; we muse specially as we pass by the little dependency of Salamis, that isle of Psyttaleia, beloved by Pan, where Aristéides dealt the last blow against the noblest of the Persian host. These things happened at Salamis and Psyttaleia, but they were not the work of the men of Salamis and Psyttaleia, even if Psyttaleia had any men. But we do see the work of the men of Aigina, the memory of the greatness of Aigina, as we draw near the coast of the historic isle, and the temple of Panhellenian Zeus looks down upon us from its height. We pass round the northern end of the island; we mark the modern town, and the fringe of fertile land which lies between the sea and the soaring and jagged heights of the island. We catch a glimpse of Epidavros, city of Asklepios, and our thoughts wander away to the second Epidavros on the Lakonian coast, to the third Epidavros far away, parent of Ragusa and all her argosies. We pass by Methana, of all peninsulas the nearest to an island, cleaving to the Argolic *Akté* as the *Akté* cleaves to Peloponnésos, as Peloponnésos cleaves to Hellas, as Hellas and the adjoining lands cleave to the general mass of Europe. We pass on to spots famous in later as well as in earlier times, to some which are famous in later times only. Kalaureia, with its Amphiktiony, is perhaps less thought of than modern Póros, the arsenal of Greece, the scene of stirring events in the war which made Greece free. We skirt the Troizenian land, but Troizén itself hardly comes within our ken; and, if Póros disputes the place with Kalaureia, Hermione cannot even attempt to dispute the place in our thoughts with the islands lying off her shore which the warfare of modern days has made so illustrious. There lie the homes of those famous Albanian colonists, two of the three great nurseries of the seamen of Hellas. Their fate has been what to shallow observers may seem a strange one, but which simply follows the commonest laws of human nature. Specially privileged under the Turk, they were foremost in the war against the Turk. Delivered from his yoke, they have greatly fallen from the position which they held under his yoke. The explanation is simple. The Hydriots, independent in their own island on the single condition of furnishing men to the Sultan's navy, enjoyed that kind of half-freedom which makes men long more keenly for perfect freedom. They know better what freedom is than those who are utterly crushed down. And, as they know better what it is, they also know better how to win it. In such cases we always hear the silly charge of ingratitude—gratitude seemingly being due to the invader if, for his own ends, he leaves his victim something. Hydra then, the land of Miaoulés, was foremost in the strife simply because it could be foremost. But when the strife was over, Hydra lost not a little. That is to say, what was lost by Hydra was won by Greece as a whole. In the days of bondage Hydra flourished, because it was comparatively free. With the establishment of general freedom, Hydra lost all special privilege; commerce, as commerce always will, went to such spots as best suited it; Peiraeus and Syra rose as Hydra went down. But Hydra and Spetsa at least form part of free Greece. Psara, the isle of the yet living Kanarés, is still in bondage. It is something to stand before the house of the last of the old heroes, to look out on Salamis, and to remember that, when Salamis was fought, Themistoklés too was *έπολις αἴρη*. By a happy analogy men speak of that house as Caprera; the owner of Caprera is *έπολις αἴρη* also.

Hydra then, like Aigina in an earlier day, is a witness of the way in which commerce fits from one shore to another. With its fellow, Spetsa, the main interest of our voyage itself, as distinguished from the interest of the spots to which our voyage is to lead us, pretty well ends. We now turn the last main corner; we enter the specially Argolic gulf. Before long, eyes familiar with the scene begin to point out to us the whereabouts of the great objects of our pilgrimage. We see—we at least see where we ought to look for—Tiryns on her lonely hill in the plain—the Larissa of Argos crowning her peaked height—Mykené herself darkly spied out among the mountains. With these objects before us, we may be forgiven if, as soon as we are once on the shore, we hasten towards them, even to the prejudice of a spot which has some claims, both earlier and later, upon our thoughts. We land at Nauplia. But, with the great sites now close to us, we may be forgiven if we pass by the fortress which preserves the name of the legendary Palamédés, and the remains which show that Nauplia too, though its fame and importance belong mainly to far later times, was a dwelling-place and a fortress of primeval

Hellas. Of little fame in the old days of Hellenic freedom, Nauplia held under the later Empire, under the Venetian, and under the Turk, so high a place that forsaken and forgotten Tiryns came in popular speech to bear no other name than *Old Nauplia*. To Old Nauplia then we hasten; but we do not hasten so fast but that we catch a glimpse of the winged lion over the gate of the younger city, the symbol of ages of Peloponnesian history which we are too apt to forget. In those ages, if Tiryns had to take the name of Nauplia, Nauplia had to take the name of a far more distant city. By one of the many attempts to make a name in one language bear a meaning in another—in this case it would be more accurate to say, to make the name bear another meaning in its own language—Nauplia, the port of Argos, became the Venetian stronghold of *Nopoli di Romania*. Peloponnesos, no longer *Sclavinia*, was still Romania; on no man's lips in those days was it Hellas. Nowhere, least of all in such a seat of its power as this, can the badge of the great republic be seen without interest, wonder, and admiration. Another lion not far off, commemorating the coming of a Bavarian king, it is only kindness to pass by. We are on the road—for a road there is—to the most wondrous relic of the prehistoric ages of the land. We soon stop before an elevation in the plain which suggests our own Old Sarum, which at a second glance may suggest Worlebury. We have at last reached one of the objects which alone would repay us for coming from Old Sarum or from Worlebury to see them. Salamis, Aigina, Póros, Hydra itself, all seem but mere stages on the way as we stand below the vast and desolate walls of Tiryns.

THE IRVINGITE APOSTOLATE.

OUR readers may or may not have noticed in the *Times* obituary of Monday last the name of "John Bate Cardale, formerly of 2 Bedford Row, aged 74," and for most of them the announcement, if they read it, would contain no special significance. They will probably be surprised to learn that the late Mr. Cardale, formerly known in the world as a solicitor, has filled for the last 45 years the office of "pillar apostle" as well as "Apostle of England" in that strange community popularly designated Irvingite, but which arrogates to itself the lofty title of "the Catholic and Apostolic Church." And the practical importance of his death is derived from the fact that he had been from the first, by virtue of his office and still more through his personal energy of character, the ruling spirit of the community, and that of the original Twelve only two apostles—Mr. Armstrong and Mr. Woodhouse—now remain, both of whom are necessarily of advanced age and are said to be of gentle and retiring disposition, and to have long since abandoned all active discharge of their functions. Hence the death of Mr. Cardale is certainly a critical, and is by many thought likely to prove a fatal, event for the future of Irvingism. A story which came to us on excellent authority may serve to illustrate the gravity of the crisis. More than twenty years ago a clergyman was inspecting the stately and then recently erected church in Gordon Square, when an official of some kind, dressed much like a verger, accosted him with the question whether he had been "gathered in"—the orthodox phrase for joining the community. He replied that he had not, and that he had no intention of taking such a step until some very obvious and serious difficulties in the Irvingite programme had been explained to his satisfaction; and he proceeded to observe that two or three of the "Apostles" were already dead (there are ten dead now) and that in the course of nature the number must continue to decrease, while no means had apparently been discovered of supplying vacancies caused by death—or, he might have added, by apostasy, for there has been a "Judas" in this second Apostolic College as there was in the first. The fact was of course admitted, and our informant then went on to remark that he had always understood the restoration of Apostles to be of the very essence of the new revelation, and that they were expected to remain to the end of the world. This also was admitted, with the explanatory comment that "for the sins of the Church" some of the Apostles had nevertheless been removed, and, on being further pressed, their apologist added that "it would be sufficient if one Apostle remained to present the Church unto the Lord on His appearing." To this it was of course obvious to reply that unless the end of the world was very near, or a special miracle was wrought, there would at no very distant period be not one Apostle left, and what was to happen then? To this final inquiry only one answer was possible, which cut short all further discussion. "It was profane to ask such questions, and they neither deserved nor admitted of a reply." The situation which it was profane to anticipate is now to all human appearance on the eve of being realized, and moreover Mr. Cardale, though theoretically only *primus inter pares*—for the revival of the apostolate was intended to supersede the Papacy into which it had been corrupted—had really been all along the backbone and chief ruler of the community, as may be inferred from the following story told by Mr. Grant, formerly one of its members and author of *Apostolic Lordship, or Five Years with the Irvingites*, who speaks of him as "a man of iron will and dominating character, which would brook no opposition," and anticipates a thorough break-up of the system as the result of his death:—

I remember being told some years since by an Irvingite minister how Mr. Cardale, at a council of the apostles, when some difference of opinion had been manifested respecting the mode of action proposed by him, taking up

his hat, said, "Well, gentlemen, I leave you; when you see your way to assent to my proposition you may send for me!" He went abroad, but it was not long, as will be imagined by those who know how dependent upon his superior capacity and energy every one had learned to feel, before he was recalled to receive the entire assent of his colleagues to his wishes.

It is curious that a sect which, at least in its outward development, bears so close a resemblance to the ordinary forms of Catholicism, should derive from a Presbyterian preacher its origin and the name by which it is still generally known, though its members—as was intimated just now—disclaim any but the high-sounding title which for obvious reasons of practical convenience, and apart from all doctrinal considerations, it is impossible for the public to accord to them. But Mr. Irving remained in the ministry of the Scotch Establishment till the last two years of his life, when he was excommunicated, partly on a charge of heresy about the Incarnation, partly on account of the miraculous tongues supposed to be revival of the gift described by St. Paul in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, but with this important difference—that St. Paul is clearly referring, as Döllinger has shown, to a supernatural command of foreign languages, not the ecstatic utterance of inarticulate or unintelligible sounds. Robert Baxter indeed in his *Narrative of Events*, first published in 1833, speaks of being impelled to utter sentences in Latin, French, Italian, and Spanish; but the general character of the "tongues" was very different from this. Archdeacon Stopford some years ago described in a letter to the *Times* the hysterical cries of the converts at Irish revival meetings as precisely like what he had heard at the earlier Irvingite services in London. The movement, though its immediate antecedents were so widely different, arose in 1832, the year before the commencement of the *Tracts for the Times*, and sprang no doubt out of the same general fermentation of religious thought which followed on the long apathy of the eighteenth century and the revolutionary cataclysm in which it closed. Nor is it surprising to find some of those whose names afterwards became prominent in the Tractarian ranks, like the late Dr. Dodsworth, of Christ Church, Albany Street, among the first converts to Irvingism. Combining the claim to a new revelation with an appeal to the traditions and the ritual of the ancient Church, it offered attractions at once to enthusiasts in search of a creed, and to reverential or aesthetic minds which recoiled from the cold negations of popular Protestantism. The Anglo-Roman Church, just beginning to shake off the effects of two centuries of penal laws, was still morally and socially under the ban; Ritualism even in its mildest phases as yet was not. Hence there was an opening for a Communion which professed to speak with a divine authority, and pointed in support of its claims to phenomena which were certainly extraordinary and were confidently alleged to be miraculous, while it presented to the eye much of the imposing solemnity of the old Catholic ritual, purged—as was affirmed under inspired guidance—of all superstitious accretions. The episcopate and priesthood were retained, and priests, whether Roman or Anglican, who joined the new Communion—it has had recruits of both kinds—were recognized as such, but to these was added "the fourfold ministry" of Prophets, Evangelists, Pastors, and above all Apostles. These last, who received their commission direct from heaven, restored to the Church after an interval of nearly eighteen centuries that true and normal system of government which had been forfeited by her sins since the removal of the original Twelve. One of the new Apostles indeed not many years afterwards recanted and deserted his post, but that only made the analogy more complete, and to his death he was known among his old coreligionists by the name of Judas. The ritual was eclectic, professedly arranged under supernatural direction, but in fact compiled by a process of what would now be termed "comparative liturgiology" from the Latin and Anglican service books with an occasional interpolation of Oriental peculiarities. Forms were provided for all the seven Sacraments; the "vestments" which have now become so famous and lighted candles were appropriated to the celebration of the Eucharist—the word mass, we believe, is not used—only the variety of coloured stoles, instead of distinguishing the ecclesiastical season, distinguishes the rank of the wearer in the hierarchy. "Angels," who correspond to bishops, wear purple copes. Besides the Eucharist there are four daily services—at 6 and 9 A.M., 3 and 5 P.M.—at the last of which, just before the *Magnificat*, a rite not unlike the Roman rite of *Benedictio* occurs; a seven-branched lamp, representing the seven Churches, is lighted and incense is burnt before the tabernacle on the altar where the Sacrament is reserved, while the angel vested in purple cope kneels before it to offer a solemn intercession. All this, we need hardly say, involves a belief in the Real Presence, though the term *Transubstantiation* is avoided.

When the sect was founded, the world was parcelled out into twelve ecclesiastical districts under the jurisdiction of the new Apostles, who proceeded at once to "deliver their testimony" and present their credentials, either personally or by deputy, to the various Sovereigns and Governments respectively assigned to their charge. Their ecumenical pretensions have not however met with any very general response. There are a few scattered congregations on the Continent, one of which in Germany is under the pastoral care of a divine of deserved literary and theological reputation, Dr. Thiersch. Even in England their success, if it is to be gauged by a numerical test, cannot be said to be great. In the religious census of 1851—since which time there has been none owing to the eccentric objection of Dissenters to being "labelled"—their numbers were computed at 6,000 only,

who are taken almost entirely from the upper and middle classes, and we doubt if there has been any appreciable increase since then. In last year's return their places of worship in England are given as 19, of which seven are in London, the original Chapel in Newman Street—where Irving himself was ordained by Mr. Cardale—having developed into the quasi-cathedral in Gordon Square, with its richly decorated "Apostles' Chapel" occupying the ordinary place of a Lady Chapel at the East End. We spoke of Irving's ordination, but he never rose above the lower ranks of the ministry in the communion which bears his name, not being designated by the Prophets to the apostleship or even to the office of an angel. Readers of Mrs. Oliphant's interesting biography will recollect the account of his patient acceptance of the humiliating position assigned him, which certainly appears to an outsider to reflect more credit on himself than on the disciples who had suddenly become his superiors. Something has been said already of the principles of this strange community, but we may observe further that, notwithstanding its "Catholic" claims and proclivities, its ministers and members usually manifest a very decided anti-Roman bias, though they frequent Anglican or Roman services indifferently where they have no churches of their own. The late Mr. Drummond, who was an apostle as well as an M.P., was in the habit of indulging in No Popery tirades, both in and out of Parliament, which might make the hair even of an Exeter Hall audience stand on end. Some three or four years ago an ex-canonical of *Evreux*, who had joined the Irvingites body, was reported to be delivering impassioned philippics against "Vaticanism" at Gordon Square. In some respects too their ritual and discipline differs rather unaccountably from that of all episcopal communions, reformed or unreformed. Thus e.g. they observe no fasts, and very few festivals, and not only is all asceticism condemned and celibacy utterly repudiated, as inferior to marriage, but there is no outward distinction of calling or dress between their clergy and laity, nor is the title of Reverend assumed by the former, except by those who were in holy orders before joining them. The Apostle of England, as we have seen, was a solicitor, and had acted as Mr. Irving's legal adviser in his trial before the Presbyterian courts. Mr. Heath, who is or was "the Angel of Gordon Square," was a dentist, and the angel of another London church who died some years ago, Mr. Hume, was a solicitor in large practice. The payment of tithes for religious purposes is however strictly enforced. Confession is expressly authorized, but not enjoined, or at least not universally enjoined, and, in spite of their high Eucharistic doctrine and ritual, we believe we are right in saying that they never communicate fasting; communion is usually administered on Sunday afternoon, with the reserved Sacrament, to those who are unable to attend the morning celebration. On the other hand Confirmation and Extreme Unction are administered with great solemnity, the former exclusively by Apostles. The "tongues" have for many years actually ceased, but a place in the public service for the exercise of this gift is still provided by the rubrics. We may add that the Irvingites have had some writers and preachers of mark, though not very many. Dr. Thiersch has already been mentioned. The Sermons of the late Mr. Dow of Edinburgh—who, if we mistake not, was Apostle of Switzerland—recall something of the tone and style of Newman's *Parochial Sermons*, and are decidedly above the average. But it is to their miraculous pretensions at the beginning, and afterwards to their authoritative teaching and the solemnity of their ritual, rather than to the pulpit or the press, that they owe such measure of success as they have obtained. The fact that after 45 years' ministry two of the "Apostles" should still be living—Mr. Cardale was struck with his mortal sickness while attending the forty-fifth anniversary of the restoration of the apostolate at Gordon Square this day fortnight—is no doubt remarkable, just as the long pontificate of Pius IX. is remarkable, and may be regarded as providential, but there is nothing supernatural about either. It will be curious to observe whether the vitality and the inconsistency alike of the "Apostolic Church" are attested, when the time comes, by its capacity to survive the loss of its last Apostle.

POPULAR TALES IN HOMER.

THE influence of the Homeric poems on the development of Greek religion and mythology is a subject which might be discussed at almost any length; but there is one point in the question which has perhaps been rather neglected in England, and which touches in a curious way on many of the unsettled or unapproached problems of criticism. We refer to the part which *märchen* or popular tales play in the composition of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. The term "popular tales" designates the more humble and childish myths which Mr. Ralston and other English writers have made "popular" in another sense, and which are found to be so curiously like each other among Aryan and non-Aryan races. As a rule, these stories differ from the myths of the higher literature and culture in two ways. The heroes and heroines are generally nameless, and the events occur in unnamed lands and undefined periods. Again, the details are apt to be very primitive, the manners rather savage—cannibalism, animal relationships, and magic being very common—and the composition and plot crude and rambling. If a wider diffusion than that of myths of the higher class among uncultivated races and in

[July 28, 1877.]

the classes which have never known anything of letters may be taken as proof, it would seem that where we find a myth and a popular tale dealing with the same topic, the popular tale is the more primitive, and is the rough material out of which the myth has been polished and made perfect.

If we examine the composition of the *Odyssey* from the point of view of this theory, we shall find that it is a mass of popular tales, artistically handled, and fashioned into a symmetrical whole which has commanded the admiration of the best critics for two thousand years. To begin with the central conception—that of the return of a wanderer to his wife, his disguise, her failure to know him for her lord, and the ultimate recognition—these ideas make up one of the best-known “formules” in the whole range of popular lore. Several instances may be found near home, in the songs of the district round Metz, collected by M. de Puymaigre, and in the Breton collections of De Villemarqué. At the opposite end of the earth Mr. Densys has met with this “story radical” flourishing and taking various shapes in China. There the wanderer returns, and, “foolishly anxious to test the fidelity of his wife, who does not recognize him, pretends to be a friend of her long-absent husband.” Compare the words of the disguised Odysseus:—

“Οδυσῆς ἔγων ιδόμην καὶ ξένια δῶκα.

When the Chinese *Odysseus* presumed too far on his pretended character of *ξένος καρπασός*, the wife “seized a handful of sand, and threw it in his eyes.” The rest of the Chinese tale is very curious, for the Penelope persevered so earnestly as to try to hang herself, rather than submit to the claims of a stranger whom she did not believe to be her lord, in spite of the recognition of his own mother:—

Οὐ μέν καὶ ἀλλη γάρ γυνὴ τετληρότι θυμῷ,
Αὐρδός ἀφεσται, ὃς οἱ κακά πολλὰ μούγσας
Ἐλθοι ἐπικυτό τέτι εἰς πατρίδα γαῖαν.

Thus the kernel of the *Odyssey* is merely a popular story, which in China, for example, has many grotesque features. The poet has expanded the idea—the original *datum*—has carried it into the cycle of epic legend, and has made it the underthread of a wonderfully rich and glowing web of song.

It is plain that the story of the wanderer returning in disguise has no natural connexion with the adventures of the Shifty Lad of folklore, who encounters and defeats giants and wizards by his peculiar cunning. Some of these feats, however, have been added to the original nucleus by the composer of the epic. The tale of the adventure with the Cyclops has dispensed critics. As Messrs. Riddell and Merry remark, in their editions of the *Odyssey*, “the character of the hero seems to have altered for the occasion.” He thrusts not only himself, but his comrades, into needless danger; he is foolhardy and reckless. In short, the wild fancy of the original *märchen* could not be altogether got rid of, if the adventure was to be used. The fine old joke about “No man did it,” which in the Estonian nursery tale takes the shape of “Self did it,” could not be dispensed with. The form which the legend assumes among the Oghuzians, “a mixed tribe of Turks and Tartars,” shows a strange incrustation of fancies round the original kernel. Even the Greek imagination was unable to polish the story so well that it does not bear very plain and grotesque traces of its original roughness.

The story of Circe is not very common in Northern countries, though the power of turning men into animals by magic occurs constantly in all the nursery cycle, from the land of the Eskimo to Natal. Dr. Gerland, of Magdeburg (*Alt-griechische Märchen in der Odyssee*) has found a very good parallel to the wise and terrible daughter of Atlas in the collection of Somadeva—that is, in a set of Indian fairy-tales put together in the twelfth century B.C. A young merchant who is wandering about for his own purposes meets four pilgrims, to whose company he joins himself. In the evening they reach a great forest, where they are told to beware of a *Yakschini* who roams there—διὰ δρυμὰ πνκά καὶ ὑλῆ. This dread enchantress is in the habit of turning men into animals, which she then roasts and eats. The wanderers advance, in spite of the warning, and at midnight the enchantress comes forth to meet them, dances a magical dance, plays on a flute, and transforms one pilgrim after another into animals. Just in time, the young merchant catches up her flute, which she has dropped, fixes his eyes on hers, and begins to recite the magical phrase. Then all her craft deserted the Yakschini, she fell on the ground, trailed herself to the feet of the hero, and implored him not to slay her, promising to fulfil all his desires:—

‘Η δὲ μέγις ωχουσα ἐπέθραψε καὶ λάβε γούνων.

In the *Odyssey*, of course, Circe does not go so far as to roast and eat the swine which she has enchanted. She appears as a wild and beautiful creature, without malicious purpose or delight in evil except for the sake of mere mischief, but compelled by destiny to do harm, till the man comes who is to master her and release her victims. This is not only an instance of the refining process of the epic, but a typical example of Homer’s inability to speak harshly of a woman, or at least of a lady near akin to Gods and heroes. The adventures of Odysseus among the Phaeacians remain to be accounted for. Here Dr. Gerland is again very helpful, and the collection of Somadeva again affords an Indian parallel. The *Vidyâdhari*, a sort of supernatural people dwelling in a city and in palaces as bright with gold as the palace of Alcinous, answer to the Phaeacians. Their golden city is not in an island, but on a lofty peak on the mysterious summits of the Himalaya. They traverse the air in a magical fashion as the Phaeacians, and indeed

other strange peoples of Mongolian and Samoyed fairy-tales traverse the sea, “in ships as swift as a bird’s flight, or a thought.” But this difference is of no importance. It is on record that the *Vidyâdhari*s did not enjoy a peaceful life in their city of gold, but were always at variance with the “Rakschasas,” a sort of giants. This was precisely the position of the Phaeacians in a tradition known to Homer, before they emigrated to Scheria. “Of old upon a time, they dwelt in spacious Hypereia”—that is “highland”;—“near the Cyclopes they dwelt, men of overweening insolence, who continually afflicted them, being mightier than they.” Here the Cyclopes answer to the Rakschasas. To reach the *Vidyâdhari*s, even in their upland home, was as hard for mortal men as to find the watery paths to Scheria. Thus in the Indian *märchen*, the Brahman Saktideva has as many adventures as *Odysseus*. He was in love with a king’s daughter who would marry no man that had not been in the City of Gold. After travelling far, Saktideva reached the isle of the fisher-king, Satyavrata, who had powers over wind, weather, and the voyages of men, like those of Aeolus in the *Odyssey*. But Saktideva reached the isle in truly fairy-tale fashion—namely, in the belly of a large fish. Satyavrata received him kindly and accompanied him on his way in a ship. While sailing, Saktideva beheld a dark point in the ocean, and was informed that it was a fig-tree which overhung a whirlpool. Towards this whirlpool the wind and current drove the ship, and at last Saktideva had to save himself by clinging to a bough of the fig-tree, as *Odysseus* clung to the fig-tree with the branches that overshadowed Charybdis. Here there follows an incident which is quite out of Homer’s line. As Saktideva held on and was almost despairing, some eagles returned to their nest in the fig-tree, and one of them observed that he had been in the City of Gold, whither he meant to return in the morning. Saktideva, with the greatest presence of mind, waited till the fowls were asleep and then clambered on to the back of the bird which had announced its intention of going to the town where he too was bound. On the following day he was delivered with care by the bird in a palace of the City of Gold, and was hospitably entertained by some ladies of the *Vidyâdhari*s, who answer, as we have seen, to the Phaeacians. His later adventures are not of very great interest; they are wild and confused, and include marriages with three or four ladies, not loyal return to one faithful wife. The discrepancies in this popular tale are foolish and fanciful; the idea of the City of Gold is beautiful in itself, and has been rescued for literature by the author of the epic. The process of selection and of readjustment is very instructive, and throws a good deal of light on the composition of the *Odyssey*. The elements seem to be first a kind of large atmosphere of legend and tradition about the siege of Troy. Then still older and more popular fictions gravitate, as it were, into the cycle of the heroes, and round a great name, like that of *Odysseus*, all the *märchen* which had wandered about without an owner crystallize themselves, just as anonymous good things in modern society are attributed to famous wits, to Sheridan or Sydney Smith. Then comes the poet, and composes his epic of adventure in charmed seas and islands, an epic which has no more necessary relation to the tale of Troy than the *chanson de geste* concerning Huon de Bordeaux has to the history of Charles. As they become material of the highest art the popular tales lose their grossness, and all of the supernatural that is not actually essential. This process of purification may always be detected in Homer, not in the *Odyssey* alone. Any one who looks through the chapter on Homeric Mythology in Lehrs’ *Aristarchi Studia Homericæ* will be struck by the fact that the variants of legend or myth which Homer “does not know,” are often the more coarse, crude, tragic, and barbarous legends. For example, he makes Helen the daughter of Zeus, but he has nothing to say about Leda and the Swan and the twin eggs. “The story is in later authors,” says the scholiast on the *Odyssey*. It seems to have been by the author of the poem of the *Cypria*, which even Herodotus thought unHomeric, that the myth about the egg was taken up from the region of priestly fable, or popular tale, into the more delicate air of art. In the original form it was Nemesis, not Leda, who was the object of the affection of Zeus, who pursued her in many forms, and lastly, with success, in that of a swan. Leda merely found the egg and brought up the children whom it contained. M. Lenormant has recently taken the trouble to trace out the various stages of the story. But what has escaped him is the fact that the birth of Helen concludes a *märchen*, which answers to the story in the Welsh *Mabinogion* that ends in the birth of Taliesin. A “high-crested black hen” in the Celtic takes the place of the swan in the Greek popular tale which Homer entirely ignores.

The Homeric treatment of popular tales has an interest for other than mythological students. More theories than one as to the date of the composition of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* might be based on the facts that the religious traditions in these works are comparatively pure and seemly, while, on the other hand, as soon as morality awakens into consciousness in Greece, we find Xenophanes anticipating the Platonic censure of Homer as the corrupter of religious ideas. To modern readers he may rather seem to have made a selection with far better care and in far better taste than Pindar. Pindar announces that he cannot accept the theory which represented a God as a cannibal, and then, as a French critic observes, he substitutes an even less pious and proper version of the story. Thus we are obliged to admire, for a new reason, the unconscious delicacy and unerring tact of the earliest poetry of Greece.

THE FOREST OF DEAN.

IN an article on the Wye Valley Railway, which was opened towards the end of last year in order to extend the system of the Great Western *via* Ross and Monmouth to the interesting terminus of Chepstow, we took occasion to show how an understanding between the Companies concerned with this line and another which, by the conversion of a mineral into a passenger and traffic railway from Lydney to Lidbrook, penetrates the Forest of Dean, and connects the valleys of two famous rivers, would enable the tourist to enjoy to the full the diversified scenery of a delightful but little-known district. When he has completed his sight-seeing between Ross and Chepstow, he ought to find conveniently-timed trains by which to run from Chepstow to Lydney, which is the first station upwards on the South Wales line towards London; and if those who manage these matters for the Forest would but provide facility of transit and say two or three trains of the Severn and Wye line, suitable for tourists, the result would certainly be an accession to the profits of the Companies concerned, and a fair prospect of a pleasant circular tour. But as yet this plan has not been adopted. The traveller who approaches Lydney from Gloucester or Grange Court by the Great Western express, leaving London at 10.15 A.M., will find that he must overshoot his mark and go on to Chepstow, or else stop short at Newnham and take a trap, or trust to his legs, for the eight miles along Severn bank betwixt the two. There are, indeed, other approaches to the Forest district, e.g. from Ross and the bank of the Wye nearest the Forest, from Monmouth, by the Buckstone and Staunton village; or direct from Newnham-upon-Severn through Littledean and Cinderford; but, with a good service of trains, the Severn and Wye railway ought to be able to get an advantage over these, in opening up all the picturesque greenery, the characteristic industries, and the antiquities of the Forest.

We will therefore pass by the delay we experienced in a recent visit to the Forest at Newnham, where the ancient church has been almost rebuilt upon a site high above the Severn, on an escarpment of cliff which tells a tale of former churchyards eaten away by encroaching tides. From this picturesque little town the way lies through lovely undulating country, past a fringe of forest to the west, and the Severn, with its rich lowlands and pastures, to the east, as far as Lydney. Several handsome modern seats diversify the scenery, and between the Severn and the town to the left, within easy eyeshot, is the ancient mansion (now a farmhouse) of Nasse, called Nest in *Domesday*, where, in the times of Atkins's *Gloucestershire* (1759), "Roynon Jones, Esq., had a pleasant house and a good estate." Of Lydney Park, a little further from the Severn than the town itself, with its two Roman camps and its remains of a military station, almost a match for any Roman vestiges at Cirencester or Corinium, some account has before been given in these pages. It is enough to note the timber within its precincts, of the true forest type and size, interspersed with Spanish chestnuts of noble growth, and a variety of ornamental trees of greater rarity; the fine spire of the Early English church, which is spacious and handsome; and the fourteenth-century cross of grey forest stone in the town or village, which resembles those of Aylburton and Clearwell, and is seventeen and a half feet high, consisting of a quadrangular altar-shape erection, with niches on each side, designed, it would seem, to contain figures. From the end of Lydney remotest from the river the Severn and Wye Railway takes its departure at the Junction station, and, from out of a few uninviting groups of miners' cottages and scattered huts and cinder-heaps, passes amidst what is at first a marshy and rush-growing low-level into genuine forest scenery on either side, with peeps here and there of a populous hill-side like Viney Hill, or of the well-placed and picturesque tower of the church of St. Paul at Park End, one of the four original Forest churches. Here and there the trees give place for a short space to a bare patch of waste land denoting the neighbourhood of pits or iron-works—as, for instance, near Elwood Green, after leaving Park End station, where one branch of the line diverges to Milkwall and Coleford, whilst the other, by Speech-house Road and Bilson, makes its way to the Wye Junction at Lydbrook. Not far from Park End is the official residence of the Ranger of the Forest, Whittemead Park, and in the vicinity of it some of the finest oaks of the Forest are to be seen, as also near York Lodge, at the entrance of this Park, some extremely fine beeches, though the high beeches beyond Lane End, on the road from Coleford to Micheldean, bear off the bell in respect of size, grace, and verdure. The route by rail to Coleford passes through ferny swards and well-grown oaks, varied near Milkwall station with thriving plantations of oak and larch. Towards Coleford it comes upon hill-ground into open country and extensive prospects, until one reaches the terminus and a town of single street, of modern features, but busy with all the life and industry to be expected in the midst of a mineral district. Near to it are the large steelworks for edge-tools and cutlery, and in it are the offices of the Gaveller, Deputy-Gaveller, and other Crown officers of the Forest. The church, which is a perpetual curacy parcelled out of Newland, the mother-church of the district, is a modern structure which it is less needful to dilate on, as its "Forest-Gothic" character will, it is hoped, soon give place to a more architectural structure. Returning, for the sake of completing the railway route, to Park End Junction, the tourist should visit the Speech-house or King's Lodge, where a building, used as an inn, was erected in

1678 for the adjustment of forest and mining rights, as well as for the election of the four "verderers" to preserve vert—that is, greenwoods—and venison by the freeholders of the county. The open space around this famous forest tryst is environed with fine timber trees, and is a congenial spot for a great forest rendezvous of every sort; but it does not seem that practically the mining law courts of the Forest have been held there more often than at Clearwell or Micheldean, and we have ourselves seen (before the ballot came into force) the election of a verderer for the Forest held, with all the ceremonial of a county election, at the town of Newnham.

The respective rights in the Forest of the Crown, the free-miners, and landowners, of which parties the second claimed rights and made orders and regulations for their own government from a very remote period, were settled by an Act of the 1st and 2nd Victoria. Previous to such settlement the free-miners made it penal to appeal to other than the Forest mine law courts, and clever and experienced miners were accustomed to plead for opposite parties, "the witnesses wearing a peculiar cap, and being sworn by touching the Bible with a holly stick." Seventeen of the orders of these courts are extant at the Gaveller's office at Coleford, the first dated 1668 and the last 1754. The system appears to have come to an end when foreigners with capital were introduced to the mines, and gentlemen declined any longer to attend and arbitrate. Whilst pausing at the Speech-house in fancy and reminiscence, it may be well to contrast the condition of Dean Forest at the date of the first order above mentioned and at the present time. In 1678 there were but six houses in the Forest of Dean. At the census of 1851 there were more than two thousand, with a population of 13,648. The cause of this growth was the enfranchisement by the Act of 1838 of the encroachments of a hundred and fifty years and the overspread of iron and coal works. Churches meanwhile began to be built, and the extra-parochial extent of, as Drayton sings, the

Queen of forests, all that west of Severn lie
Where her broad bushy top Dean lifteth up so high,

was divided into East Dean and West Dean, and into four perpetual curacies. As to the timber of the Forest, famous at the date of the Armada, an impetus to its increase and preservation was given by the Act of 20 Charles II.; but it seems to have become dormant in the eighteenth century, and the inclosures were thrown down and destroyed at the beginning of the nineteenth. In 1808 Lord Glenbervie, as Surveyor-General of Woods and Forests, obtained an Act reviving the powers of that of Charles II., and an impetus was given to new plantations to the full extent of, in all, thirteen thousand acres. The timber planted was chiefly oak, with firs for nurses. A Commission was issued by Lord Glenbervie's Act to eleven gentlemen to set out the amount of acres. From an early date the Forest had been stocked with fallow-deer; but, owing to the neglect of the Forest and destruction of cover, as well as the number of poachers, it had become nearly bereft of these in the early part of the present century. After the making of the new inclosures, the number of deer came up again to near the original limit of eight hundred. This was in 1840; but in 1850, owing to the lawlessness of the deer-stealers, and the temptation afforded to the naturally wild nature of the indigenous forester, "venison" was finally disassociated from its accompaniment of "vert" in the verderer's functions, and the annual fee buck and doe, which was about the last privilege of these and kindred functionaries, ceased to be presented, for the simple reason that the Forest was cleared of all head of deer. Any one who has seen the surroundings of the Speech-house, and some of the Forest rides betwixt it and Newland, will understand the interest imparted to the woodland glades by these graceful creatures; but, considering the division of the population into Government labourers and a mining population, it is obvious that collisions between woodmen and free rovers of the "jovial forester" type, as the natives still delight to style themselves, must have been frequent and formidable as long as the deer remained in the Forest.

From Speech-house road station, between which and Park End is some very fine forest scenery, and one or two magnificent and extensive views, the tourist reaches the mineral station of Bilson, and in due course, after a few miles of more or less woodland on either side, runs upon a high level into the busy outskirts of Lydbrook, a large and busy mineral-working population, engaged in the iron and tin-plate works, or the neighbouring collieries. Here the chief feature of the Severn and Wye line is the magnificent viaduct whereby it is carried to the junction of the Ross and Monmouth at Stowfield. Some idea of the magnitude of this may be formed by the following measurements. The central span is 150 ft.; the two end spans 120; on the south side are three arches each of 30 ft., on the north, two of 24 ft. each; width of piers 30 ft.; length 600 ft.; width over masonry 16 ft. 4 in. at the ironwork, 12 ft. the centre of the girders, and the depth of the girders 12 ft. 9 in. The station brings us face to face with the Wye, commands a long reach of the river towards Monmouth, with a vista of Rosemary Topping and the Coldwell Rocks, and across the river, the ancient demesne of Courtfield, and the restored church of Welsh Bicknor.

But we must get back by rail or across country to Coleford, for some of the most ancient glories of Dean Forest and its environs lie off the rail. Though Coleford can boast of nothing very ancient, Newland, and Staunton, and English Bicknor are villages in various ways bespeaking time-honoured traditions, and boasting ancient houses, families, and memorials. The first of these lies

[July 28, 1877.]

some three miles to the S.W. of Coleford, and about eight miles from Lydney, and is remarkable as containing the mother-church of the Forest, a noble specimen of the Decorated style of architecture with an ample nave, chancel, and chapels, and a very elegant west-end tower, adorned with light and graceful pinnacles. This tower is a charming feature, seen from the neighbouring woodlands and uplands amongst the trees of the village. The whole fabric was judiciously and conservatively restored in 1862, and its altar slabs, brasses, and altar tombs disposed in the chapels and elsewhere with good taste. In the Clearwell Chapel a mutilated brass of the fifteenth century gives a curious representation of a forest miner of that date, carrying his candle in his mouth, his bag for ore on his back, and his pickaxe in hand. An altar tomb of the fourteenth century preserves the memorial effigy of Sir John Jose, and probably his consort; another, more defaced, is without any definitive explanation. Chief Baron Probyn, a member of one of the oldest Forest families, born and buried here, has a commemorative mural tablet; the church is rich in modern painted glass, and those who would study the costume of the early foresters might do worse than scan or copy the effigies in the churchyard of Jenkin Wyrall, the Ranger A.D. 1457. He is clothed in a short jerkin, belted, with a hunting-knife slung on his left side, and his horn affixed to a shoulder-strap on the right. There is less poetry than self-confidence in the bragging couplet inscribed on his tomb. Another inscribed slab denotes a royal forester of Henry VII.'s date. A memorial cross in the churchyard, erected in 1864, adjoins the base of the old cross, which was deemed unequal to the task of bearing up a successor. Just out of the village of Newland, to the left of the road from Coleford to Monmouth, is the king, though headless, of forest oaks, perhaps the largest oak in the kingdom, measuring at least forty-five feet in girth at five feet from the ground, though only twenty feet in its decapitated height. It is fresh and green and lively with young shoots, even to the base. Another venerable forest oak called Jack of the Yat, lies to the right of the roadside as you travel from Coleford to Micheldean, and before the diversion of the road to Lydbrook. But it can boast of no more than nineteen feet of girth at six feet from the ground. About one mile from the village of Newland, which is extremely pretty, and dotted with several excellent houses and picturesque villas, is the ivy-mantled seat of the Baynhams, Throgmortons, and Wyndhams, from the last of which old and honoured Forest families it came to the Quins. It dates from Queen Anne's days, and is finely wooded. Here is a beautifully designed modern church, built in Early English style at the cost of the late Dowager Lady Dunraven, and a village cross of the fourteenth century resembling that at Lydney, though differing from it in the finish of a new shaft ornamented by a floriate cross, restored by the same munificent benefactress. Clearwell appears to be the modern name of Clowerwell, as the word is written in old Forest documents. A mile or so from Newland, in the direction of Bigswear Bridge over the Wye, and of the Wye Valley station of that name, is the British camp of Highbury, bounded on one side by a deep ravine, through which flows the stream which feeds the neighbouring tins-works. We have spoken on another occasion of the *scowles*, or rugged and steep passages caused by removal of ore and iron-works, and the remains of ancient Roman iron-works in the vicinity of Coleford and Lydney, some of the latter being not far from the Wyeside and Symond's Yat. At present we must transport ourselves rather across a Forest ride from Newland to Staunton, where the church is a specimen of Late Norman with Early English and Decorated additions. It has an ancient stone pulpit, reached by a staircase leading also to the rood-loft, and is said to have been built up for years to hide it from the Puritans. There is, or was till very recently, a menhir in this parish, in which, too, to the right of the road to Monmouth, is the famous Buckstone, one of the finest Logan or rocking-stones in England. It stands on a conspicuous eminence of Staunton Hill (954 ft. above the level of the sea), and is fifty-three feet in circumference, the apex of the point being three feet in diameter. Its name is said to be due to the pursuit of the Forest deer, and its fitness for a listening spot. We believe that it is established to be a genuine rocking-stone, and have a tenderness for the old tradition that only innocence and purity can set it a-moving. From hence the traveller may either thread the Forest rides across the dingle to Christ Church, which is one of the oldest Forest churches by the road from Coleford to Bicknor, or, if in a vehicle, proceed by the turnpike-road past Berry Hill to English Bicknor, a pretty and ancient village, with a church which has a remarkable Norman arch, an embattled tower, and two chapels. Adjoining Bicknor Church are the vestiges of an old encampment, where coins were discovered in some recent digging for foundations. The Bicknor walks above the promontory of the Wye extend from Bicknor Court in a romantic fashion for a couple of miles to Symond's rock, below which the traveller may vary the route, and, if he chooses, make his way across the ferry through Whitchurch to Ross.

THE TELEPHONE.

WHEN the invention, or rather the supposed perfection, of the instrument called the telephone was announced, speculation as to its possible uses was naturally suggested. If this novel apparatus were indeed capable of all the feats assigned to it while it was still invested with the magnificence belonging to the unknown, there was little limit to the wonders which it might

accomplish. Fortunio's gifted servant Fine-ear would find in the telephone a rival that would lower immensely the value of his special faculty; and a pendant would be found to the ivory tube belonging to Prince Ali in the story of "Ahmed and Peribonou," by looking through which its fortunate possessor could view at will any scene in any part of the earth. Or, to pass from fairy-tale marvels to matters of fact, the telephone might be made useful in an infinity of ways both to the public and to the people who provide for the public's amusement. A popular lecturer, for instance, might, with the aid of the new instrument, save himself a large amount of wear and tear by delivering his discourse in a dozen different places at the same time, thus outdoing Frikell's feat of riding out at all the gates of St. Petersburg at twelve o'clock. In marvellously clever, but little known, work called *Adventures in the Moon*, there is a story of a certain Aristus who came to the conclusion that a body was a very inconvenient encumbrance, and persuaded his household god to teach him a charm by means of which he might get rid of his limbs, and retain only his mind and voice. The arrangement did not turn out quite as successfully as he thought it would. His children, when he spoke to them, "were at first terrified by this mysterious voice, and could hardly be prevented from running away; but hearing it solemnly assure them that it was their father, and had no design of hurting them, they took courage, and were then greatly amused to find how their father had hid himself; they laughed violently whenever he spoke, and seemed to be delighted with the novelty." Increased familiarity with the wonder bred contempt. "They had been accustomed to follow without hesitation the advice which came from a peremptory countenance; but now the advice which came out of the air made very little impression upon them." Aristus's commands were met by flat refusal; his wife attempted to bring the children back to a sense of their filial duty, "but her expostulations could procure no obedience to the venerable sound, and it was disobeyed every hour." The more exasperated Aristus became the more the children were delighted, and they even went so far as to play all kinds of tricks on purpose to hear the air scolding them. Something of this inconvenience might, unless provision were made against it, belong to the system of lecturing by telephone. The authority accompanying words spoken by a man who believes in the lesson he teaches and lends it weight by an impressive demeanour, might well be lost in the case of a spectral voice issuing from a drumhead hung in the middle of the lecture-room. And, unless the instrument were very accurate, there might be some confusion as to whether a sudden pause was intended as a hint for applause, or was due to a hitch in the machinery. The first of these objections might be met without any great difficulty. There is a game, or there was when children were content with games that involved no moral or scientific lesson, in which, while one person recites a poem, another goes through the actions that he conceives to be appropriate to the poet's meaning. A hint might be taken from this; the outward signs of the telephone might be kept out of the audience's view, and person "made up" as accurately as possible to represent the lecturer might appear to deliver the discourse with fitting gesture and aspect. In the same way the resources of the new apparatus might be turned to account by learned persons desirous of instructing the world, but unable to overcome their fear of standing up to face an audience. Sitting peacefully in his own study, a man whose eloquence was before defeated by his shyness might give forth burning words to an audience some miles off, whose applause might be transmitted to him by a second telephone arranged for the purpose.

In the case of theatrical and operatic entertainments the telephone might render incalculable services. Suppose that a favourite actor is prevented from appearing by a fit of the gout or anything else which cripples his limbs, but leaves his voice and intelligence unharmed. What more simple in such an emergency than to arrange a telephone by which his accents shall be carried to an enraptured audience, while a double goes through the mere mechanical movements of the part? Or, if a prima donna were suddenly indisposed, and no one could be found to take her place, the manager might at once telegraph to another prima donna in a distant town, and have the heroine's music sung by telephone. This system might of course be carried still further, so as to improve on the new method lately exhibited at Bayreuth. Herr Wagner is of opinion that the sight of an orchestra interferes with the proper appreciation of the lyric drama. The imagination, which should be filled with mysterious impressions of things far removed from commonplace life, is checked by the view of a company of men of this world engaged in blowing and fiddling. We would go further than this, and say that not all the resources of machinery, steam vapour, and practicable dragons breathing real flame, can furnish an adequate embodiment of Herr Wagner's ideas. Let us, then, do away with these gross representations of poetic images. Let each member of a number of audiences assembled at various points see in his own mind's eye the scenes and personages that the composer's music, conveyed by telephones to the different assemblies, suggests. There would then be no need of building special theatres in accordance with the notions of the poet and musician. Herr Wagner might train his own orchestra and keep it constantly in his own house, ready to comply at a moment's notice with the demands made by operatic managers all over the world.

To take another musical, or, to speak according to our feelings, unmusical, matter. As we were writing the foregoing lines, and reflecting with a due solemnity upon the sublime notion of many crowds in many distant places listening in awed silence to the

harmonies of the *Götterdämmerung* flowing apparently out of thin air, our meditations were rudely interrupted by the noise of one of the so-called piano-organs which are the bane of most people who have either any nerves or any love for music. That there are, on the other hand, many people to whom this horrible din is a source of delight is evident from the number of organs which patrol the streets. We have even heard it asserted by a professor of music that the street organ is not without its use in giving some notion of time and tune to people who could not in any other way acquire it. If this be so, it would be well to remedy the evil by making such arrangements as exist in every German town for popular music. But until that can be done the telephone might be brought to the rescue, if a company of the people who delight in benevolence to organ-grinders could be formed to distribute the strains of the organ to their poorer brethren. In a yet more important matter the apparatus might be turned to excellent account. The eminent statesman who has kindly constituted himself the referee of every one on every earthly question might, with a properly arranged system of telephones, do away with the trouble of writing innumerable post-cards. His many correspondents would, it is true, sacrifice the privilege of possessing his autograph; but they would gain in exchange the advantage of actually hearing the words of wisdom dropped from his mouth.

Unfortunately these and like dreams do not for the present, at least, seem likely to be realized. The telephone in its present condition, to quote from an accurate account of it which appeared some days ago, "only enables a performer to play the 'Minstrel Boy' and 'God save the Queen,' on a most imperfect musical instrument five miles away," and from this fact the writer justly infers that the invention "is of very little practical value." It may also be remarked that, as a matter of fact, the telephone is not, in idea at least, a new invention. In 1861 Herr Reis of Frankfort invented an instrument called a telephone, which telegraphed musical sounds by means of a rod of soft iron in a coil of wire, through which a current was sent. "The reproduced notes," to quote from an account of this instrument, "though of the same pitch, are not of the same quality as the transmitting (transmitted?) notes. They are very faint, and resemble the sound of a toy trumpet." Mr. Varley may be said to have improved upon this, although we are disposed to agree with a critic who has said that the sounds produced by Mr. Varley's telephone on the occasion of its private trial were "a little grouty and nasal." "Grouty" is an expressive, if not a usually recognized word, and gives a good impression of the general character of the sounds, which are at present further disfigured by a drum-like vibration of the membrane from which they are produced. However, the same writer who described the notes as "grouty" observed that "the interesting and important fact was that they were there." This fact certainly cannot be disputed; and, as we are told that the inventor hopes "to be able to produce articulate speech," we may perhaps look forward to some of the brilliant ideas entertained of the telephone's powers being realized.

THE CAXTON EXHIBITION.

I.

IT is not always pleasant to be able to say "I told you so," and we should gladly have found our warnings falsified as to the Caxton Exhibition. It would have been a cheerful task to announce that, for once, South Kensington had not marred an admirable scheme; that the situation of the show was eminently accessible; that the concourse of spectators left no doubt as to the way; that the catalogues were ready before the opening, the cases arranged, and the specimens labelled. But our predictions were, unfortunately, founded upon long and sad experience. South Kensington, without Sir Henry Cole, is no nearer London than it was. The North-Western Gallery is not more easily reached. The local list of Royal and noble Committees is much the same as usual; the work they perform equally complete. It is now a month or more since the Exhibition opened, yet half the books are not arranged, half the labels are not put on, the walls are still in the hands of a hanging Committee, and the Catalogue still bears the words "preliminary issue." In spite of the difficulties of access, a fair number of visitors attests the popularity of the subject; but where are the noble working-men, the journeymen printers and apprentices, for whose instruction the show was first projected? If any are there, they may be counted on the fingers of one hand without fear of exaggerating their numbers by more than half-a-dozen. And as to the interest excited among the neighbouring populations, it may be mentioned that on Saturday last an intending visitor, seeing two policemen by the Albert Memorial over against the Exhibition Galleries, asked of them the way to the entrance. One constable denied that any such exhibition was being held, or he must have heard of it; the other acknowledged that something of the sort was going on, and recommended the inquirer to go to a door at the foot of Exhibition Road. To have followed his advice would have entailed a useless walk of rather more than three-quarters of a mile, yet he was standing at the moment within hail of the entrance. The active members of the Committee have duties in London. One is a printer, another a lithographer, another a publisher, and so on.

What might have been done in a few minutes' leisure at Stationers' Hall, or even at Westminster, is a day's work when it involves a drive to the North-Western entrance of the Exhibition Galleries in Queen's Gate. In spite of such drawbacks, the Caxton room has been arranged. Mr. Blades has hung up his paintings, laid out his medals, opened and labelled his books, and placed his unrivalled collection of engraved portraits of printers and publishers on the staircase; and the cases of modern specimens, too few by far, are also carefully arranged by the firms which exhibit them. The Oxford, Cambridge, and Queen's printers exhibit their Bibles and prayer-books, several of them labelled as the smallest printed, although smaller editions were issued two hundred years ago. The first Cambridge New Testament—of which, by the way, we fail to find a specimen here—is smaller than any now printed; and Field's Bibles, printed under the Commonwealth, measure at most only four inches and a half by two and a quarter. The central room is least complete. The Bibles, which greatly outnumber all the other specimens, are only half displayed, and, so far as we could make out, not arranged at all. We may, therefore, pass over the printing-presses in the lower gallery for the present, and confine our attention to the furthest room, as being complete.

It is surrounded with upright cases in which are books by Caxton and his pupils, the more remarkable examples being in separate cases in the centre of the room. Above, on the upper wall, are hung portraits, comprising Woodfall, Wilkins, Strahan, Nichols, Franklin, Mrs. James, Cave, Constable, and other printers of celebrity, chiefly from the collection of Mr. Blades, who also contributes his library of books on printing, including no fewer than a hundred and fifty volumes in English, and as many in French and in German, besides books in Latin, Dutch, Italian, and other languages. Near them are the medals, collected by the same gentleman, on which are represented or commemorated great printers and great typographical jubilees, such as those of 1740 and 1840 in Germany, and the Haarlem celebration of its exploded Coster legend in 1856. But most of the visitors will neglect mere curiosities of this kind for the Caxtons.

In his new book Mr. Blades has well pointed out the particulars in which manuscripts and the early results of the printing press resembled each other, and also those in which they differed. First, he remarks that the old printers selected their material; the scribe naturally chose his vellum, and the printer in like manner his paper; so that while one book is found to be printed wholly on thick, another is on thin, paper. Next, the scribe when he used paper made the inner sheet of each section of parchment in order to give a firm hold to the binder's thread; Caxton, to whose eye the combination of two materials was unpleasant, only pasted a slip of vellum down the centre of the section. Again, the scribe when beginning a book passed over the first leaf and began on the third page; so in early printing the first leaf was left blank, and the old bibliographers, when the binders had removed it, often imagined the title to be wanting, though titles were a later invention. Further, the scribe only wrote a page at a time, and it is quite certain the first printers printed page by page. What must have been the labour of producing in this manner such a book as the Mazarine Bible, with its 1282 pages of 16 inches by 12? So, too, scribes used signatures; but as the mysterious letter and number were thought unsightly by the printer, who could not from the nature of his case place it, like the scribe, at the bottom of the leaf, it was actually filled in by hand, as may be seen in an uncut copy of the *Recuyell* of the history of Troy at Windsor Castle. Another curious point of resemblance between printed books and manuscripts consists in the space left blank for an initial, with sometimes a little letter as a guide printed in the middle of the space to be covered by illumination. Mr. Blades also remarks on the feeling of the early printers that their names and the date of printing were matters of little importance, so that many great works, like the Bible just mentioned, have no date, while, of twenty-one works issued by Colard Mansion, Caxton's teacher, not more than five have a date, and of Caxton's hundred books more than a third are without any indication of the year of imprint. Lastly, the similarity of the printed characters with those in use by the scribes of the period must be noticed, a similarity which has caused many mistakes, and none more remarkable than that which made so good a bibliographer as the late Dr. Maitland to omit from the catalogue of the printed books at Lambeth its most precious treasure. Thus the progress from manuscript to print was more gradual than some of us might have thought; and the resemblance, which lingered longest in the spacing of the lines, between print and writing was not obliterated until printed books became common and manuscripts comparatively rare.

In the arrangement of the Caxtons all these points are well illustrated. The resemblance of some of the books to manuscript is startling, especially those on vellum. We can well believe the story told by Mr. Blades, that "in 1856, an old-established book-seller in one of our largest cathedral towns marked a copy of Caxton's 'Statutes of Hen. VII.' as an old MS. and sold it for 2,6"—a story which rivals that in the *Antiquary* of Snuffy Davy, who bought a *Game of Chess* for twopence, though we are assured it is wholly an invention of Scott's own. The Caxtons exhibited number 186 or thereabouts, and comprise a large number from the famous Althorp library, lent by Lord Spencer. There are three copies of the "Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers," the first book from Caxton's press with printer's name and with place and date; "thus," as the Catalogue says, "forming the foundation-

stone of the present Celebration." Mr. Christie Miller's copy is selected for the place of honour, being exhibited in a case by itself reposing on a velvet cushion. It is surprising how many specimens consist of single leaves or little more, and how often occurs the note "Discovered in the binding," or "Used to strengthen the binding," or "From the unique copy in the British Museum." Caxtons have been found of late years in many unexpected places, and no fewer than thirty-eight are only known from unique examples. The English contemporary printers are well represented; for of the eight known publications of the Schoolmaster of St. Albans four are shown, including two copies of one; and of the seventeen printed at the first Oxford press twelve, several in duplicate, are here. Among the books in this class may be specially noticed the St. Albans Chronicle with its beautiful scarlet device on the last page, and the "Boyleys of Hawkyng and Huntyng and also of Coatarmuris," by the sporting lady of whom the Catalogue gives us the following account:—"The author was Juliana Barnes, Prioress of Sopwell Nunnery, situated within the precincts of the Abbey of St. Albans." We expect rather typographical than topographical correctness in the Catalogue; and might pass over the mistake if it stood alone. Nothing seems to be known of this printing schoolmaster; but the books issued by his press are worthy of an Abbey which had boasted of the best *scriptorium* in England. Among the Oxford books are two copies of a volume which has made more stir in the bibliographical world than many a better book. This is the *Expositio Sancti Ieronimi in Simbolum Apostolorum*, the first book printed at Oxford. It bears the date 1468—a date which was the subject for many years of warm controversy, since, if it could be proved correct, the Oxford press would take precedence even of that of Caxton. There is, however, sufficient evidence to show that the *Expositio* was really printed in 1478, and that an *x* was omitted in the colophon. It is curious that Caxton himself committed the same kind of error in his edition of Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, which he dates 1493, but his insertion of the regnal year of Richard III. would, apart from internal evidence, enable us to correct the error. Even Mr. Blades makes a somewhat similar mistake in his *Life of Caxton*, and Mr. Botfield, in his *Cathedral Libraries*, when pointing out Caxton's error, makes a worse one himself, for he says "the date is 1483 for 1493." There is a well-known edition of the Breeches Bible, in which 1495 is printed for 1594, and which is a standing nuisance to librarians who receive at short intervals appeals to purchase copies of it as being earlier than any yet described. The documents relating to Caxton's life and mercantile career are very interesting; but, it must be confessed, very few in number. One is the volume of the Mercers' Accounts, which contains an entry under 1437-38 of the admission as an apprentice of William "Caxton," not "Caxton," as it is printed in the Catalogue. Another and still more interesting volume is that of the churchwarden's accounts for St. Margaret's, Westminster, where among the receipts we read of six-and-eightpence for four torches at the burying of William Caxton, and "Item for the Bell atte same Bureying, vjd."

THE BALANCE OF TRADE.

LAST year, as we all have reason to know, was singularly unprosperous commercially. The winter which ushered it in was very wet, the spring exceptionally cold, the summer excessively dry, and the harvest again wet. The crops of all kinds, more particularly the root crops and grasses, were consequently short and bad. At the same time the Eastern question, reopened in the preceding autumn, assumed a more and more alarming aspect as the year went on, filling the commercial community with apprehensions of war. Lastly, the depreciation of silver rendered trade with the East a losing enterprise; the Presidential election and the dispute which followed it had a most depressing effect in the United States; the numerous bankruptcies of foreign States suddenly deprived the saving classes in Great Britain of large amounts of income, thereby crippling their means of expenditure, and the effects of the panic of 1873 still pressed upon other countries. It was, therefore, a year of stagnation, want of enterprise, and decline of business throughout the world. It is curious, however, that, while here in England we fully shared in the general depression so far as the business of supplying foreign markets was concerned, we ourselves took more from foreigners than in any previous year on record. We have to go back to 1870, as the year of the great disturbance caused by the Franco-German War, to find a twelvemonth in which the outside world bought from us goods of a less value. In spite of the growth of population in the meantime, and the vast accumulation of savings that had been going on, we did a smaller business last year than in any of the five preceding years. The fact bears grave testimony to the severity of the crisis through which we are passing. But it is extraordinary to find that, while we sold less, we imported a great deal more from foreign countries. The value of our imports last year exceeded the value in any previous year—pretty conclusive proof, we may remark in passing, that the home market is far more important than the foreign, and that the prosperity of the country is now so assured as to be independent of the ordinary fluctuations to which international commerce is necessarily subject. The remarkable feature of last year's imports, however, is not so much their magnitude as their unprecedented excess over the exports. That excess amounts in round numbers to the enormous sum of

126,000,000*l.*, say a year's revenue, national and local, of France, the most heavily taxed country upon earth. In the old times before Adam Smith wrote, and indeed until his writings had exploded the fallacies of the mercantile system, these figures would have excited profound alarm. It would have been pointed out that we were levying nine-and-twenty shillings' worth for every pound's worth we sold, and it would have been mournfully inferred that we were hurrying along the road to national bankruptcy. And this inference would have seemed beyond the possibility of question when it could be added that last year's experience was singular only in this—that the excess of imports over exports was greater than ever before. Excess to some extent, however, there has been ever since an exact record of our foreign trade has been kept. If the analogy between a State and an individual were true in all points, the alarm would be well founded. Undoubtedly, if an individual were to go on spending at this rate beyond his incomings, he would very soon find his name in the *Gazette*. But, in reality, the analogy holds only to a very small extent. We have but to open our eyes and look about us, and compare what we see now with what we remember twenty years ago, to satisfy ourselves that England is growing richer, not poorer, every year. Yet, as many people are exercised in mind by the constantly recurring excess of imports, it may be worth while to explain the puzzle. The explanation is to be found in the recently issued Report of the Commissioners of Customs; but the need for working it out in more detail than the Commissioners thought necessary is proved by the bewildered state of mind of the *Times*, which, in its grand style, smiles with pity at the ignorance that would be alarmed by the phenomenon, but clearly shows that it does not understand the Commissioners' argument.

The value of the exports, as given in the returns prepared by the officers of Customs, is their estimated value at London, Liverpool, Glasgow, and the other ports from which they are sent abroad. It represents the price for which the manufacturer would be ready to sell them at Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, and so on, *plus* the cost of carriage to the port of embarkation—in so small a country as England a trifling addition. But it does not include the freight, insurance, and agents' commission, which they have to bear before reaching the consumer. We send cotton piece goods to India, China, Africa, and South America; cloth to Austria and other parts of the Continent; coal and iron to the uttermost ends of the earth. The greater part of all these goods is carried in British ships, and helps to give the shipowner his profits and the crew their wages. The risks of the sea voyage are usually covered by an insurance, on which of course the underwriter, generally an Englishman, gets his profit. Lastly, the goods are consigned to an agent abroad, who likewise is often an Englishman, and has to be paid a commission. All these various charges swell the price of the goods before they reach the foreign consumer for whom they are intended; and, so far as they are paid into English hands, they increase the value of the exports to the country at large. The returns made up by the Customs officials, therefore, really represent only a portion of the value of the exports, though no doubt the most important portion. Another point to be borne in mind is that very many articles leave this country of which the Commissioners of Customs themselves admit that no account is or can be kept. To take but a single instance—it has long been notorious that the statistics of the export of bullion, not from this country only, but from all countries, are not trustworthy. It is not worth while to prove an assertion which everybody who has paid attention to the question of the supply and consumption of the precious metals will be in a position to corroborate. It will be seen, then, that our export trade brings to this country a considerably larger sum than the Board of Trade returns indicate. On the other hand, the declared value of the imports is their value when they arrive in this country. For example, the value of the raw cotton we receive from the United States and India, as given in the Board of Trade returns, is not its value in New Orleans or Bombay, or any other port of export, but its value on arrival in Liverpool. On the one side of the Board of Trade returns, therefore, there is included the cost of sea-carriage as well as insurance; on the other side, those items are excluded. It necessarily follows that the value of the imports must appear the higher. Were our international transactions confined to the exchange of commodities, it is evident that the two sides of the account must balance one another, unless we were to run into debt. Every article bought must be paid for, either in bullion or in some other way. Consequently exports and imports must be exactly equal. That only commodities were dealt in was the assumption on which the mercantile theory rested. Hence the extraordinary importance attached to the balance of trade. As a matter of fact, however, international transactions are not confined to a mere barter of one set of commodities for others.

Our readers are aware from their own experience of the difficulty of finding safe investments here at home that will not involve the trouble of management, and yet will yield a good return for their money. The funds, which are safest of all, yield about three and a quarter per cent., Bank of England and Board of Works stocks return a little more, first class railways, canals, and gas Companies still more. As a rule, however, we may say that four per cent. is the limit. In new countries, whose resources are undeveloped, and in which capital is scarce, the rate of interest is very much higher than at home, and money, invested with judgment, will consequently bring in a much larger return. For centuries, therefore, the saving classes here have been invest-

ing abroad. At first the investments were almost limited to the dependencies of the Crown. Sugar and tobacco plantations were purchased in the West Indies, fur Companies were formed in the Hudson's Bay territory, coffee plantations were established in Ceylon, as were indigo and tea plantations as well as jute and cotton-mills in India. Gradually, however, enterprise was extended to all parts of the world. English money built the railways of India, and a large proportion of those of Canada, the United States, and Russia; it provided foreign cities with gas and water; and enabled Governments to indulge in war and extravagance. Very often investments, no doubt, have proved ruinous; but the far larger number have been judiciously made, and continue to yield handsome revenues, which are sent home in bullion or in goods as circumstances may show one or the other to be most advantageous. Furthermore, there are numbers of civil and military servants of the Crown, railway officials, merchants, barristers, and newspaper editors in India, China, the Straits Settlements, and other foreign dependencies, who have families at home for education and other purposes, to whom they regularly transmit considerable sums. Lastly, there is a large stream of successful emigrants and settlers in foreign countries returning home, and bringing with them more or less of the fortunes they have realized. The sum total of the amounts received in these various ways must be enormous, even in ordinary years, and against it there is no export. Part of it consists of savings effected abroad from salaries given for services rendered. Even so much of it as is interest on capital invested represents capital exported in previous years. In the year in which the imports on these accounts occur, there are none of the exports. Last year the imports of this kind—and it must be remembered the remittances are much more often made in the form of goods than in the form of money—were exceptionally large. The aggressive policy of Russia frightened the holders of Russian bonds, and they sold out at a ruinous sacrifice; the distress which prevailed in America caused heavy sales of American railway shares and bonds; and, generally, the discredit into which foreign loans fell led to an extraordinary withdrawal of English capital from foreign countries. Thus last year, in addition to the interest due, there was a very large amount of capital brought home. It will be seen that in a country like England, where the annual savings largely exceed the means of profitable investment, the imports must necessarily be larger than the exports. This proposition is contested by the *Times* on the ground that, even in the years when foreign investments were largest, the imports exceeded the exports. The objection convicts the writer of a misapprehension of the facts to be accounted for. In the first place, we have shown above that, from the way in which they are valued the imports must seem to exceed the exports; but, furthermore, the investments in any one year can hardly ever equal the returns upon foreign investments. Let us suppose that during a period of twenty years the foreign investments average twenty millions per annum. At the end of the period they will amount to 400,000,000. Let us assume, also, that the rate of interest averages six per cent., which is below the actual average. In the twenty-first year, therefore, the total interest due would be 24,000,000, or four millions more than the average lent during the preceding twenty years. It is true that this assumption makes no allowance for bad speculation and repudiation. On the other hand, it is to be remembered that foreign investment has been going on, not for twenty years, but for two or three centuries. The profits on the successful ventures during that long space of time must be enormous. Moreover, those profits are now increased by the remittances of persons resident abroad, and by the fortunes realized by retiring merchants, colonists, Anglo-Indians, and other persons employed in the public service and in the service of banks, railways, insurance Companies, and of foreign Governments. When all these various items are taken into consideration, we think there can be no doubt of the correctness of the Commissioners of Customs' statement that in a country like this the imports must always exceed the exports.

REVIEWS.

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL RECOLLECTIONS OF SIR JOHN BOWRING.*

IN a disjointed and circuitous manner sufficient materials have been collected to give the English public a not inadequate notion of the life, character, and capabilities of Sir John Bowring. The volume now published begins with a memoir written by Sir John Bowring's son. It then gives the commencement of Sir John Bowring's autobiographical recollections, which travel over his infancy, childhood, and early manhood; and next come a variety of recollections divided into heads, such as Literary Reminiscences, Electioneering, Parliamentary and Free-trade Experiences and Recollections, which are fragments or jottings made by Sir John Bowring on subjects in which he had taken a personal interest, and are now put together by his son. The bulk of the volume consists of fragmentary notices written by Sir John Bowring of the countries he had visited, or the celebrated persons he had known. Perhaps this is as entertaining a way of putting before the reader what Sir John Bowring had to remember in his long

and varied life as any that could have been found. The very absence of all connexion and method screens us from the ordinary tediousness of biography, and reminiscences are far easier to read than letters. The general result produced is, perhaps, an impression of surprise that Sir John Bowring should have visited so very many countries and known so many famous people, and yet have so little to tell of them that is either new or interesting; but at any rate he did go roaming about the world gifted with a wonderful turn for acquiring languages, and possessed by a burning zeal for Free-trade, and he did come across a great number of persons whose names are well known. What he has to say about his travels and his acquaintances may be read with some pleasure and even profit. He was a bustling, courageous, indomitable sort of man, with a power of making his way everywhere, singularly firm in his grasp of the narrow range of subjects in which he took an interest, and prone as much to criticize as to admire. But in observing men and things he had little culture or instinctive genius to aid observation. A platitude was to him always just as good a thing to book as anything else. It is startling to come on the following sentence, registered with evident pleasure and triumph by Sir John Bowring in the full maturity of his powers:—"It is no profanation to say that neither the Iliad nor Odyssey nor the Eneid of Virgil are likely to leave impressions so lasting on future generations as the works of our own Shakespeare." The man who could write such a sentence as part of his autobiographical recollections gives the measure of the qualities he brought to the task of observing. He may have known all the crowned heads on earth, and have stumped the globe from China to Peru, but his own perception of what is new and what is interesting in thought were obviously too faint to make it possible that he should greatly interest or stimulate the minds of others.

Sir John Bowring was born in 1792 at Exeter, and was the son and grandson of a fuller. His family had long been settled in Devonshire, and had for some generations produced a succession of those sturdy Dissenting Whigs whom Dr. Johnson held in so much horror. He seems to have been very fortunate in the composition of his family circle when he was young, for he draws the portraits of his grandfather and grandmother, and of his own parents, and his tributes to their merits are enthusiastic. From infancy he was trained to attend the services of the Unitarian ministers, of whose congregation his grandfather was a conspicuous member, and it was only by a sense of unworthiness that he was diverted from following the calling of men whom he warmly admired. He was sent to school, a very rough school in a very rough place, and does not seem to have much profited by his education. He was not, indeed, happy in his instructors, one of them being the victim of constant practical jokes, and subsequently committing a forgery; and another being a drunken, good-for-nothing person, whose chief merit lay in a turn for making flourishes with his pen. It was a hard life, and must have made the boys hard; but it may be hoped that in few hearts were feelings of such lasting vindictiveness awakened as in that of the young Bowring. Even when age and experience might be supposed to have softened him, and he was writing of the days of his boyhood in the evening of life, the fierceness of his early wrath seems to have remained unabated, and he wrote down with the utmost calmness sentences which most men would have blushed to pen. He relates that he split a drop of ink on one of the best flourishes of his master, who accordingly decided to have him flogged. A boy who had hitherto been Bowring's special friend was ordered to inflict the punishment, and obeyed. "From that hour," Sir John Bowring writes, "I hated the master, from that hour my feelings towards Edmund Pearce became frozen (I believe he was afterwards frozen to death on Dartmoor)." It is difficult to conceive anything more horrible than the complacent record of baseless vindictiveness and the mysterious connexion assumed between the ultimate fate of the poor lad and the change in the feelings of the writer. It is in the worst style of the worst Puritanism; and, if the child is father to the man, it is not, perhaps, too much to say that something of the spirit revealed in this sudden hatred of a friend, and in this settled conviction that it was quite natural that calamities should overtake any one who had given Bowring offence, may have shown itself when, at the critical period of his life, his detestation of the Chinese and indignation at their resistance to his demands led him to catch hastily at an excuse for exposing them to the consequences of a war with England. At the same time, it deserves to be noted that Sir John Bowring not only made many friends, but kept them, and that he was excellent in every relation of family life. It is by no means contrary to experience that general amiability should concur in a character with a tendency to extreme bitterness and fierceness under real or imaginary wrongs.

On leaving school he entered a merchant's office at Exeter, and at once began to cultivate his great linguistic gifts. He seized every opportunity, and made the most of it. He learned, as his son tells us, French from a refugee priest, Italian from itinerant vendors of barometers and mathematical instruments, and Spanish, Portuguese, German, and Dutch with the assistance of mercantile friends. Subsequently he added a knowledge, greater or less, of Danish, Swedish, Russian, Servian, Polish, Bohemian, Magyar, Arabic, and Chinese. This is a wonderful list, and attests his great industry and perseverance, as well as his remarkable natural powers. In 1811 he went as a clerk into a London house, and was sent by his employers to the Peninsula in connexion with the English commissariat, and in 1814 set up in business for himself. In 1816 he married; and, after the peace, spent many years in tra-

* *Autobiographical Recollections of Sir John Bowring.* With a brief Memoir, by Lewin B. Bowring. London: Henry S. King & Co. 1877.

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velling on the Continent, devoting himself to commercial pursuits, and at the same time to literature. He was also from boyhood zealous in making acquaintances with persons of every kind of eminence, and he was the chosen friend and literary executor of Jeremy Bentham. In business he was not successful, and he twice made and twice lost a competence. Gradually he devoted himself altogether to literature and politics. He was one of the editors of the *Westminster Review*, and he informs us that from first to last he published between forty and fifty volumes; and if there are now few persons who could mention the name of any of them, he has but shared a fate common to many able and industrious men. In 1822 he had the distinction of being arrested and thrown into prison at Boulogne, whence he was released at the urgent demand of Canning, the ostensible cause of his imprisonment being that he had aided some French prisoners to escape, but the real cause being, perhaps, that he was supposed to have mixed himself up with the intrigues of the Duke of Orleans. In 1828 he was, on the recommendation of a Committee, appointed a commissioner for the reform of the system of keeping the public accounts; but the Duke of Wellington, thinking him too much of a Radical, struck his name out of the Commission, and he was merely sent to Holland to collect information as to the Dutch system, and he was then made a Doctor by the University of Groningen, and thus gained the title by which he was generally known. After the passing of the Reform Bill he stood unsuccessfully for Blackburn, and in 1835 was elected for Kilmarnock. He lost his seat in 1837, and, after vainly trying Kirkcaldy, he was elected in 1841 for Bolton, and kept his seat for eight years, when he was sent to Hong Kong. Much of his time during this period of his life was spent in fulfilling roving commissions to preach the doctrine of Free-trade, which he believed in and expounded with an ardour and assiduity such as is usually exhibited only by the apostles of a religious faith. In 1854 he succeeded Sir G. Bonham as the English Plenipotentiary to China; and, after having concluded a treaty with Siam which did him much credit, engaged in the controversy with the Chinese Government which ultimately, under his management, led to the war of 1857. He resigned his post in 1859, and lived for thirteen years longer, dying in 1872, soon after completing his eightieth year, and retaining to the last his powers of unwearied activity, and amusing the leisure of a happy, honourable, and tranquil old age with recording what he could remember of the places he had seen and the men he had known.

The variety of these places and persons is really surprising. He went everywhere and knew everybody. If we except America and Americans, he has something to say of all the world and its civilized inhabitants. And yet we turn over page after page fondly hoping, and for some time feeling sure, that in the next page there must be something worth reading. But our hopes are never realized, and then the question is forced on us—Why should a man who runs about the world and knows every one have anything to say? A tourist of the present day who goes round the world in 300 days does go round the world in 300 days, and there is an end of it. When we once realize that great activity is consistent with great mediocrity, we do not any longer expect the most indefatigable Cook's tourist to tell us much. And yet a man who is essentially commonplace, as far as the enlightenment of others goes, may justly seem to himself by no means commonplace. He feels in his heart springs of action that ought to lead him to great things. He may, like Sir John Bowring, have a wonderful command of the machinery of knowledge. With incredible pertinacity and liveliness, Sir John Bowring managed things which few men can manage. He had not only no advantages, but great disadvantages, in position and training, for an unsuccessful Unitarian radical merchant cannot easily open the oyster of society. And yet he knew Louis Philippe, the King of the Belgians, Bentham, Lafayette, Lamartine, Humboldt, Mehemet Ali, and a whole tribe of distinguished persons so at least as to be very well received by them. Nor did he suffer himself to be dazzled by the fame of his famous friends. He is never bewildered by their greatness and is always ready to judge them by the light of common sense. Perhaps he makes the worst rather than the best of his acquaintances, and speaks a bad word for them with more readiness than a good. But he never gets beyond the range of common sense and commonplace. He always says the obvious thing about every person and every country, and the reader is tempted to wish that Sir John Bowring had never known more than one country and one famous man, provided he could have brought some real thought to play on his narrower sphere.

In every big plum pudding there must, however, be a few plums, and it is possible to dig out a few passages in these critical sketches which are more or less worth notice. If any part of the book can be said to possess something approaching to interesting matter, it is the section in which Sir John Bowring describes his visit in 1837 to Mehemet Ali. The Pasha received him in the palace of Shoubra. He was conducted by the Secretary into the presence of the Pasha, and "in the corner of the place of audience stood Mehemet Ali, with his white beard, soft and fair hands, and fiery eye." Coffee was ordered in and conversation began. Mehemet Ali related that when the insurrection broke out in Syria the Russian and French Consuls told him he should study history in order to learn how to govern. "My son wrote to me," he said, "for orders, but I thought it best to go myself, and I solved everything in a week. That was practical government, better than I could have learnt from history." The

fact is that he went to Saffa, and simply hanged all the leaders of the revolt. He was fond of talking of his plans for the improvement of Egypt, and said to his visitor, "I have hitherto only scratched the earth with a pin or tilled it with a hoe, but I mean to go over it with a plough." An English lady was introduced to him, and asked him for a lock of his hair as a memento. He refused the favour, probably thinking it an improper concession to a Christian woman, but said, "No, I can't give you a hair now, but when I am dead my whole head shall be at your service." Sir John Bowring gave him some valuable lessons and good advice. He persuaded the Pasha to oppose, at least in words, the slave-trade; he convinced him that it was impolitic in a time of famine to forbid the exportation of grain, and he induced him to pardon some merchants whom the Pasha had condemned to the galleys, because they did not repay money he had lent them. Yet at Cairo there were persons who, even after seeing him, thought themselves wiser than Sir John Bowring. He was present when a man accused of burglary was brought before a tribunal. The crowd clamoured for his immediate execution, and the judge, to make things pleasant, ordered him to be hanged forthwith. Sir John Bowring was asked by this rapid judge how such a criminal would be dealt with in England, and replied that he would probably be transported to a distant colony. The judge asked at what cost, and Sir John Bowring estimated the expense of transportation. "And what in your country is the cost of a rope?" Sir John Bowring answered that it cost a few pence. "Then I think," the judge said, "you must be great fools."

THE JEWISH FATHERS.*

OUR Universities are showing welcome signs of a revival of interest in those oriental studies for which England had a high, if not the highest, reputation in the enlightened days of Brian Walton and Edmund Castell in the seventeenth century. After a long and lamentable neglect of Semitic, and especially Hebrew studies, it takes a considerable time to retrieve our position when the progress on the Continent has been and continues to be steady and uninterrupted. Still, not to speak of the few zealous scholars like Sayce and Cheyne, to whom no linguistic problem is too difficult, we are agreeably surprised from time to time by receiving books displaying mature judgment and sound knowledge on Hebrew or the connected idioms. Some of these, like the book now under consideration, go beyond the Biblical Hebrew into the realms of the Rabbinical literature, which lies out of the way of ordinary students, and is beset with far greater difficulties, not only at the beginning, but throughout, while the available helps are incomparably fewer.

But if books like the *Pirke Abot* have been comparatively neglected hitherto, it cannot be said that they do not deserve to be studied. The history and the maxims of ancient sages of other nations and other creeds than the Jewish have not generally been so unkindly treated in the last and the present centuries. The recovery of the literature of Buddhism and of the Chinese philosophers was a task of immeasurably greater difficulty; yet that has been accomplished, and the birth and progress of Buddhism has been, by the aid of coins and the writings of previously unnoticed Greek and Indian historians, ascertained with something like certainty. The effect of these discoveries on our modern ideas on the importance of the history of philosophy and religion is evident. Neither of these exponents of the workings of the human mind can be complete which knows of no philosophy but that derived from the Greeks and of no religion except that which had its root in Abraham. And if the origin of the less known systems is admitted to have importance, their independent development is no less instructive. We cannot listen to those who tell us of the commencement and refuse to listen when they go on to describe the subsequent growth. Indeed this later development may tell us things of more psychological importance than the primitive ideas. The difficulties which beset any intellectual or spiritual system, and the way in which they are met, have profound interest, not only to the sympathizing heart, but to the student who regards them simply as phases of the mind not personally affecting him. The narrow theological prejudices which held back Anglican and Protestant students no less than the learned Jesuits, who might have told us so much more than they did, long sealed up the Jewish literature from serious study. Down to the time of Christ the Jews were the keepers of the Word of God; but even in, and still more after, the time of Christ they were to the Christian world rejected apostates. Yet if the Christians had not been possessed by a narrowness very different from the large heart of their Master, they might have felt some interest in learning all that could be known of those Jewish doctors with whom He had disputed, and of that great teacher Gamaliel, of whom Paul was proud to call himself pupil. Now, when we understand the importance to the history of civilization of the development even of philosophies and laws which are not our own, we can only wonder that so vast a development has been going quietly on among the Jews at our very doors and throughout the most familiar ages of Christian history without attracting the notice of Christian Fathers and theologians. The Talmud, in whole or in part, and countless commentaries have been printed and reprinted in such central seats of

* *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers; comprising Pirke Abot and Pereq R. Meir, in Hebrew and English.* With Critical and Illustrative Notes. Edited by Charles Taylor, M.A., Fellow and Divinity Lecturer of S. John's College, Cambridge. Cambridge: University Press. 1877.

Christian learning as Venice, Cracow, and Basle; yet how little is known of it even among professed theologians and historians. We must indeed own that the chief hindrances to the study of the Talmud have now fallen, and observe with pleasure how deep an impression a student whose mind was deeply imbued with its literature and yet fresh with enthusiasm (we mean the late Emanuel Deutsch) could make whenever he spoke or wrote on the subject. But the practical difficulties are still very great. The bulk of the Talmud and the technicalities of its language are among the most serious. The want of arrangement and the mixture of important with trivial matter will still prevent its being extensively used even by scholars who have surmounted the first obstacles. The most promising mode of rendering its valuable parts accessible seems to be that of the separate publication of the more important tracts with a translation and critical apparatus.

This is what Mr. Charles Taylor has achieved for the interesting Mishnah tract *Masseketh Aboth* or *Pirke Aboth*, which title he paraphrases as "Sayings of the Fathers." These fathers are Rabbis who established schools and taught in the period from two centuries before to two centuries after Christ. They are the men who, living in the age immediately succeeding the completion of the Hebrew Canon of Scripture, were first able to look on that Scripture as a whole and to compare passage with passage, discover the bearing of one assertion on another, and thus work out the first system of Biblical interpretation, theology, and ethics. Their system was in full vigour in the time of Christ, and was duly imparted to all students—among others, of course, to our Lord Himself and to the learned Pharisee, St. Paul. To a large extent it was accepted in the early ages of the Christian Church, and, through the authority conceded to the Fathers of the Church, became the unquestioned and orthodox system of interpretation till modern times. Hence it is peculiarly incumbent on those who look to Jerome or Origen for their theology or exegesis to learn something of their Jewish predecessors. The New Testament abounds with sayings which remarkably coincide with, or closely resemble, those of the Jewish Fathers; and these latter probably would furnish more satisfactory and frequent illustrations of its text than the Old Testament. It was a favourite idea of the late Mr. Deutsch, on which he frequently spoke to the present writer, to publish an edition of the New Testament with an illustrative commentary taken from the Mishnah or older parts of the Talmud.

Taking up a book like the *Sayings of the Fathers* without previous preparation, we are puzzled to know what to make of it. The disjointed aphorisms of the Fathers which it preserves sometimes seem instinct with a lofty philosophical virtue resembling the Stoical or the Christian standards; sometimes they appear to be merely counsels of worldly prudence; very often their language is figurative and obscure, and their use of passages of Scripture oddly brought together opposed to all principles either of common sense or of sound exegesis. The whole is permeated and dominated by veneration for the Thorah, or Divine Teaching, which is contained specially in the Pentateuch, wherefore the term Thorah is the proper designation for the Pentateuch. It is difficult to discriminate the exact use of the word—when it stands for Divine revelation generally, and when for the books of Moses specially. The Thorah is the special object of religious study and self-dedication; and we learn to regard the Jews as essentially students, and contemplation of the Divine Word as their ideal of religiosity, and are tempted to find a striking resemblance to the typical character of Buddhism. But then we find passages which assert in the strongest manner that study must be associated with action to be profitable. Simon the Just, the oldest Father named here, says, "On three things the world is stayed—on the Thorah, and on the Worship, and on the bestowal of Kindnesses." One Gamliel said, "Excellent is Thorah-study together with worldly business, for the practice of them both puts iniquity out of remembrance; and all Thorah without work must fail at length, and occasion iniquity." So wisdom is powerless without works. "Whosoever's wisdom is in excess of his works, to what is he like? To a tree whose branches are abundant and its roots scanty; though all the winds come upon it, they stir it not from its place." But there are numerous passages, especially in the supplementary book by Rabbi Meir, in which the acquisition of Thorah is simply the committal of the Pentateuch to memory, and has a superstitious value attached to it. So in the following passage, which we quote in full, as a good instance of the curious way in which Scriptures are strung together and made to yield the most illogical conclusions:

He who learns from his companion one section, or one canon, or one verse, or one word, or even one letter, is bound to do him honour; for thus we find with David, king of Israel, who learned not from Ahitophel but two things only, that he called him his master, his guide, and his acquaintance; for it is said, But it was thou, a man mine equal, my guide, and mine acquaintance (Ps. lv. 14). And is there not an argument from the greater to the less, that as David, King of Israel, who learned not from Ahitophel but two words only, called him his master, his guide, and his acquaintance, he who learns from his companion one section, or one canon, or one verse, or one word, or even one letter, is so many times the more bound to do him honour? And honour is nothing but Thorah, for it is said, The wise shall inherit honour (Prov. iii. 35). And the perfect shall inherit good (Prov. xxviii. 10). And good is nothing but Thorah, for it is said, For I give you good doctrine, forsake ye not my Thorah (Prov. iv. 2).

But, whatever logical and exegetical absurdities may be patent to the cosmopolitan and uninited reader, he cannot fail to be struck by some considerable moral excellencies which have characterized the Jews in all ages (except, perhaps, the early times of their glory and independence), and largely account for the bond that

unites them so closely, despite all differences of nationality, station, and habits. Philanthropy, self-renunciation, the kindness that desires not to inflict, but to alleviate, pain, and humility before both God and man, are the most striking traits. The bestowal of kindnesses has already been quoted as one of the three things on which "the world is stayed," the others being Thorah and Worship. The great Hillel said:—"Be of the disciples of Aaron, loving peace and pursuing peace, loving mankind, and bringing them nigh to the Thorah." Others said:—"Receive every man with cheerfulness"; "Who is rich? he that is contented with his lot . . . Who is honoured? he that honours mankind"; "Despise not any man, and carp not at anything; for thou wilt find that there is not a man that has not his hour, and not a thing that has not its place"; "Judge not alone, for none may judge alone save One; and say not, Accept ye my opinion, for they are free to choose, and not thou"; "Be lowly in spirit unto every man"; "Let the honour of thy disciple be dear unto thee as the honour of thine associate; and the honour of thine associate as the fear of thy master; and the fear of thy master as the fear of Heaven."

The illustrative notes form a tolerably full commentary upon the text, giving personal details about the masters whose sayings are quoted and the character of their teachings; and including citations from Talmudic literature, which clear up many obscure points. We have hinted at the use that might be made of this Mishnah literature to elucidate the New Testament; Mr. Charles Taylor, whose business was to expound a Mishnah tract, has adopted this course in the reverse order, and given frequent and happy illustrations from the New Testament. It is the combination of these two sources of illustration, Jewish and Christian, which renders this commentary especially valuable as well as remarkable. The practice of quoting German or other foreign commentaries in the original language is, however, one against which we would protest. In the case of most books of this kind the English editor only follows in the wake of German predecessors; and the reader who knows German will use the German edition. Editions with English commentaries are chiefly required by readers who do not know German; and for them German extracts should be translated. Moreover, there is seldom any truth so abstruse in the German commentator's remarks, or anything so striking in his language, as to prevent its being presented equally well in English. The critical notes contain much interesting matter besides the due citation of various readings. And there are five scholarly Excursus, which discuss at length some points both important and liable to be imperfectly understood, on the meaning of Thorah and Qabbalah, the Decalogue, the "Hear, O Israel," the Lord's Prayer, the Great Synagogue, and the Sadducees. It is shown that other parts of the Scriptures besides the Pentateuch are occasionally, though rarely, treated as Thorah; and that Qabbalah, which is properly tradition, is applied even to the prophetic books and the Hagiographa. In fact, the conclusion which on other grounds forces itself irresistibly upon us, that the canon originally consisted of the Pentateuch alone, and that some degree of canonical authority was at a later age accorded to the other books successively and gradually, is more than corroborated, if indeed rather suggested and necessitated, by the evidence of the Jews themselves. "The authority of the Thorah was final, and its decisions without appeal, as is expressed, for example, by the saying, 'That which is of the Thorah needs not confirmation,' whereas words of Soferim [scribes] do need confirmation." The "men of the Great Synagogue"—whose history and character are very obscure—are said to have first interpreted the previously apocryphal books of Proverbs, Song of Songs, and Ecclesiastes, and likewise to have "written down" (whatever that denotes) Ezekiel and the twelve minor prophets, Daniel and Esther. With regard to the origin of the Sadducees, the derivation of their name from a man Zadok, is vindicated against that from the adjective *Zaddik* "righteous," with perfect justice, as it seems to us, both on common sense and on etymological grounds. They neither affected any particular sanctity themselves, nor were credited with it by others; and the vowel *a* in the name is explicable only from the *o* of Zadok, not from the *i* of Zaddik: while the double *d* may be merely introduced incorrectly in the Greek transcription as in many other Hebrew names, and by no means points necessarily to Zaddik. The Sadducees would then be the later expression for the sacerdotal party called by Ezekiel "Sons of Zadok." This agrees with the fact that they were not a sect like the Pharisees, but the old Conservative party, which clung to the Pentateuch and resisted the authority attempted to be given to other books—books of tradition—and in accordance therewith rejected the doctrine of the Resurrection, because they did not find it in the Pentateuch. There is an interesting note on the "Hear, O Israel" (Deut. vi. 4-9), which is cited by Jesus in Mark xii. 29, as the first and greatest of all the commandments; it is shown how ingeniously (although with a strained and illogical interpretation, as the Jewish manner is) the Jerusalem Talmud discovers all the Ten Commandments to be contained therein. And, finally, the excursus on the Lord's Prayer will be read with much interest; it points out the coincidences between the nature and the language of its petitions with those of the Jews in the Old Testament and the tradition. It will not diminish the value of the prayer to the Christian to find that other religious persons have used something similar before him; and he will read an instructive lesson if he finds that some things which in the earlier version were understood in a plain and earthly sense, are now commonly taken in a higher and spiritual sense.

RHYS'S LECTURES ON WELSH PHILOLOGY.*

SINCE this book was published, at all events since its title-page was printed, Mr. Rhys has been promoted to a post for which he could not have any serious competitor within our own island. We have already congratulated Mr. Rhys and his University, and philological learning in general, on the election which has made him the first occupant of the Celtic chair. The present volume shows him before his election in a *quasi-professorial* character, as lecturing Welsh students of Celtic philology in a college at Aberystwyth. It is cheering to find that a class of Welsh students of Celtic philology is a possible thing, and it is still more cheering to find that such a class could endure Mr. Rhys as their lecturer. It is to be hoped that what was possible at Aberystwyth may not be impossible at Oxford, and that Mr. Rhys will find a class of students of Celtic philology, Welsh or English or any other, as willing to accept sound doctrine as he seems to have found among his own countrymen. Mr. Rhys will most likely have to struggle with some difficulties at Oxford, but they will not be exactly of the same kind as the difficulties with which he doubtless had to struggle at Aberystwyth. A parallel in the Macedon and Monmouth style might be drawn between the two places, which should start with the fact that there are Druids in both. But the Druids of Aberystwyth, if they be like the Druids of the rest of Wales, might be expected to appear in the form of unscientific philologists, while we are not aware that the Druids of Oxford have ever meddled with philology at all. Sir William Harcourt may perhaps know more about it; he may be able to say whether his theories about "appanage"—we feel just now wholly indifferent to the number of *p's*—approve themselves to the Druidic mind among his constituents.

Mr. Rhys's difficulty at Oxford will more likely be that which is, we believe, shared by every Professor whose subject does not directly pay in the schools. It will be the usual difficulty of finding any considerable body of people who are ready to learn merely for learning's sake. So few care to know anything about English that still fewer may be expected to care to know anything about Welsh. We say "care to know anything about Welsh" advisedly, because to know about Welsh or any other language is quite another thing from actually knowing the language. Mr. Rhys draws the distinction in his preface. His lectures, he tells us, were intended "to appeal, in the first instance, to Welsh students of Celtic philology; but it is hoped that they will also be found intelligible to other Welsh readers, and, with a view to this, the Welsh instances have been rendered into English throughout." This is perfectly reasonable; many people may find it quite profitable to read or to hear Mr. Rhys's lectures who have not thought of learning the Welsh language so as to speak or even to read it. That is to say, Welsh has its place in the general system of Aryan languages, and a student of other Aryan languages should at least know the relation in which Welsh stands to them. Again, Welsh, like all other languages, has gone through certain changes; certain sounds, certain forms, have, in the course of time, displaced other forms and sounds; and the course which this process of change takes in one language always supplies both instructive analogies and instructive differences when it is compared with the course which the same kind of change takes in another language. Now all this is interesting and instructive to the student of language in general, even though he may know next to nothing of the particular language in question. In following out these points in the history of a language, he cannot indeed help learning something of that language; that is to say, out of the instances that are quoted he must pick up a certain vocabulary. But he may learn all this, he may have fully grasped the relations of the language to other languages, he may have fully mastered the leading features in the history of the language as compared with other languages, and yet he may be hardly nearer than he was when he began to any practical or literary knowledge of the language. He may be no nearer towards speaking it, and very little nearer towards reading it. People who have practical command of a language, whether their own or one they have learned, but who have never studied it philologically, are often puzzled to find those who do not know the language nearly so well as themselves knowing a great deal more about the language than they do. In the like manner they are often surprised to find that a man can perfectly understand a book in a language which he finds it hard either to speak or to understand when spoken. But all these various forms and degrees of knowledge have their several uses, though of course the highest form is when a man knows a language and knows about it. Now a great part of both Mr. Rhys's lectures is well adapted for those who may not care to know Welsh, but who may care to know about Welsh. His lectures would be perfectly intelligible to a man who has scientifically studied several other Aryan languages, but who has no literary or practical knowledge of Welsh at all. But we think that in some parts of the book Mr. Rhys has hardly enough consulted the interests of another class, who may still in a somewhat lower sense be said to wish to know about a language. A great part of Mr. Rhys's lectures, though they do not presuppose any knowledge of Welsh, do presuppose a thorough mastery of all the apparatus and all the technicalities of scientific philology. Now there are some whose interest in a language is in the strictest

sense historical, and not much more. If their study is the history of Britain, as it is a principal part of their business to know the history of the English language, so it is, not perhaps a necessity, but a gain if it can be had, to know something of the history of the British language. They will be well pleased to know the relations of that language to other languages—to know, for instance, whether the differences between the two great branches of Celtic speech in the British islands are older than the settlement of the Celts in these islands, or whether they branched off after they came hither. They will be glad to know in a general way something of the main course of the Celtic languages and the changes which they have undergone in historical times. And on these matters Mr. Rhys's lectures will tell such an one a great deal, pretty nearly as much as he is likely to care to know about the immediate matter in hand; but he may be tempted to go a little further, and then he may possibly be baffled, not by Mr. Rhys's Welsh words, but by some of the subtle distinctions which form the technicalities of the minute history of sounds. A man may know his Grimm's law fairly, and may be able to apply it to such languages as he knows, and yet he may not have the ear of Mr. Ellis or Mr. Rhys for catching and classifying the minutest shades of human utterance. This is no fault of Mr. Rhys; he doubtless writes primarily for those who can make these delicate distinctions, and those who cannot should rather be thankful that they find anything in a strictly scientific book which is profitable to a state of mind which is only half scientific. Still, a purely historical inquirer is sometimes apt to get a little baffled amidst the elaborate marshalling of spirants, surds, and sibilants.

Mr. Rhys's first lecture opens with a sketch of the general results of the comparative method as applied to the Aryan languages, but with a special reference to the Celtic group. Here he of course tells us a great deal which we have heard before; but most of it is put in a new light, because it is written with special reference to the Celtic group. He gradually goes off into an examination of the relations of the Celtic languages to one another. How does the Welsh stand towards the Gaelic—the *Goidelic* of his more exact spelling—of the British islands? How does it stand towards the old Gaulish speech of the Continent? Do the Britons and Gauls form one class as distinguished from the Gael? Or do the Celts of the British islands form one group as distinguished from those of the continent, and are the distinctions between the Gael and the Briton distinctions which have arisen since the settlement of the Celtic race in these islands? Mr. Rhys very distinctly decides in favour of the latter view. With him the settlers in the Celtic British islands form one group; the Celtic settlers on the continent form another. This pretty well does away with theories to which some of us have been a good deal attached, about the Gael being the first Aryan inhabitant of these islands, and having been succeeded by a second Celtic wave in the form of the Britons or Cymry. We see that Mr. Rhys applies the word Cymry to the Britons in general. We remember Lord Strangford warning us very carefully that there was no authority for carrying the name into Cornwall or Strathclyde; it belongs, he held, strictly to the people of Wales in the narrower sense. The special likeness between Breton and Welsh, and still more between Breton and Cornish, Mr. Rhys attributes, as he has a perfect right to do, to the Armorican migration. On the other hand, to account for the occurrence of the same national names in Gaul and Britain, he has to suppose settlements in Britain made by continental Celts after the general Celtic settlements and before the coming of Caesar. A good deal of Mr. Rhys's argument turns on the mutation of letters between Welsh and Irish; but all is here perfectly intelligible even to the reader who has no practical knowledge of either language. One point is curious. It has been argued in favour of a connexion between British and Gaulish, as opposed to Irish, that British and Gaulish both use *p*, while the Irish use *c* to express the original Aryan *q*; but Mr. Rhys shows that the change took place at quite different dates in Welsh and Gaulish, and that the *p* did not reappear in Welsh till long after the Roman occupation. And he adds, with some force, that it would be just as reasonable to argue in favour of a connexion between Irish and Gaulish, as opposed to Welsh, on the ground that Irish and Gaulish have the initial *s* where the Welsh has the initial *h*. Here we are brought to the special discovery of Giraldus, so we listen with redoubled attention. Mr. Rhys shows that the introduction of the *h* in these cases into Welsh is comparatively late; and we feel proud that we can add an instance of our own. The Severn must surely have begun with an *s* when the Romans wrote its name down as *Sabrina*; yet in modern Welsh its name certainly begins with an *h*. It is most curious to find changes of this kind at so late a time exactly answering to changes in unrecorded days. Here are the Welsh doing in historical times what was done ages before by those Greeks who said *xiropes* for *récratopes*, and by those Italians who said *pid* for *quid*.

So again, when Mr. Rhys deals with those inscriptions of which he is such a master, it does not need any very special knowledge to follow him. Those who have seen Mr. Rhys busy with an inscription at any of the meetings of the Cambrian Archaeological Association will at once understand the difference between the man of a past day who can perhaps just mechanically make out the letters, and the true scholar who can see all that the words prove, and who thereby finds the mere task of making out the letters a great deal easier. So with the *ogams*, that mysterious alphabet of which so many examples are found both in Wales and Ireland. It is quite easy to follow Mr. Rhys's examination of them with great profit without at all pretending to make out *ogam* inscrip-

* *Lectures on Welsh Philology.* By John Rhys, M.A. London: Trübner & Co. 1877.

tions ourselves. Mr. Rhys connects the *ogams* of the Celt with the runes of the Teuton. He believes that the Celts got this primeval alphabet from the Teutons—a doctrine which must surely seem high treason to many a Celt; and among Celts he holds that the Irish learned them from the Welsh—a doctrine which will surely stir up great wrath on the other side of St. George's Channel. In short, Mr. Rhys is one of those who do not care about stirring up enemies all around them, provided they can get at the truth. But he further holds that some at least of the runes are of Phoenician origin—that is, not of Phoenician origin in the sense in which every alphabet borrowed from the Greek or Latin must be Phoenician, but Phoenician in some more direct sense—though he does not profess to settle how a Phoenician alphabet got into Northern Europe. On this point he starts several questions, and deliberately leaves them unanswered. But for general history the inscriptions in the Roman alphabet are naturally of more importance than those in the *ogams*, and it is wonderful how much Mr. Rhys contrives to get out of them. His history of the use of the letters in the Welsh inscriptions and in the Welsh language itself can be easily and profitably followed. It is only when we get to phonology, pure and simple, that we begin to get a little puzzled. In short, Mr. Rhys has put forth a book which is the very best omen for his success in his new post, and for the advancement of Celtic and philological study generally. Nor is our confidence in him lessened when we come suddenly on such a passage as this:—"So much of the word *daw*; my account of its origin in Kuhn's *Beitrag*, vii. p. 231, is utterly wrong." When a man has the moral courage to confess that he has been utterly wrong, he is more likely to be in the way to become some day altogether right.

MASSTON.*

MASSTON contains the essential ingredients of a good novel, but there is a fault in the manner of their combination. The story yields all the material needed for an effective plot, and the writing is marked throughout by distinct individuality of style. A constant quaintness of expression serves to give new force and validity to familiar truths, and amid much homely and simple illustration there often lurks an unsuspected keenness of intellectual perception, a vivid and refined sympathy with transient moods of human feeling. It is only to be regretted that these literary resources have not been always closely concentrated upon the development of character and the conduct of the story. The clever authors of these volumes are apt sometimes to be wasteful of their wit and wisdom. They have introduced into their work more than we have a right to demand of fiction, and in that there is no ground of complaint; but in the pursuit of these supplementary objects they have sometimes expended an amount of literary strength that was needed elsewhere. They have not sufficiently elaborated some of the individual portraits, nor have they always realized with enough circumstance important incidents introduced into the plot; while, on the other hand, they have perhaps been tempted to exaggerate the significance and interest of that part of their work which is devoted to the exposure of religious hypocrisy and commercial immorality. The extreme Low Church clergyman, half charlatan, half fanatic, is already covered all over with satiric wounds; there is scarcely place in his body for another arrow, however adroitly aimed. But for the general reflections which the authors have introduced upon modes of business and principles of manufacture there is of course more justification. The scene is laid in one of the great manufacturing towns, and the most prominent figure in the book is a representative of the wealthy class which the vast industries of these towns have developed. It is right, therefore, that we should have a vivid picture of his surroundings, and it is inevitable that there should be some discussion of the great changes in the appearance of the country and in the character of the people which the rapid growth of English manufactures has produced. The authors of *Masston* have much to say upon these matters, but they must not expect universal assent for all their regrets over the past.

The story of *Masston*, if the authors had so chosen, might easily have been worked up into a very striking sensational novel. It is full of dramatic suggestion, and gives ample scope for effective situation. But of these capabilities inherent in their plot they have not, we think, been sufficiently mindful, or it may be that they have deliberately refrained from seeking for their work the kind of success which a story of strong incident may claim. Robert Warner, who afterwards rises to be the rich and prosperous manufacturer of Masston, is introduced to the reader as a boy of the meaneest character and the most pronounced piety. He had been "sucked in by the torrent of religious emotion which then swept through the town of Masston"; but, as our authors hasten to explain, "this solemnity of mind did not interfere with his daily duties, nor in any way weaken his devotion to commercial pursuits." But indeed, as our knowledge of Warner increases, there is the less need for explanation. We are never from the first permitted to indulge any illusions concerning his sincerity, and one of his earliest acts is to seduce, and afterwards to desert, an innocent girl whom he had promised to marry. How Warner rose to the proud position of the owner of the largest brass works in Masston is not particularly related; all that we are told is that his religious repute

grew with his wealth, and we are left to assume that the one was necessary to the other, and that a profound hypocrisy was necessary to both. The career of this successful impostor forms the centre around which all the subordinate incidents of the story are grouped; all other persons in the book are only important in so far as they are brought into relation with him. We know less of Sarah Armstrong than of Warner's shameful conduct towards her, and of its bitter consequences to himself. The girl is too proud and good to expose her lover's character in *Masston*; he, on the other hand, is too mean and cowardly to raise her to the position of a rich manufacturer's wife. She makes a last appeal to his generosity just at a time when Warner is contemplating marriage with a lady of high birth and large fortune, who has been fascinated by his religious enthusiasm; but she is roughly driven from the great man's office, and is left to the benevolence of a certain Dr. Cumberlidge, who places her in a secluded farmhouse belonging to him, where she shortly afterwards gives birth to a child.

In the subsequent career of this child lies the dramatic point of the story; and here it may be remarked that the authors of *Masston* are more successful in the contrivance of strong situation than in displaying the gradual development of character. The scene between Sarah Armstrong and Warner is effective in itself, and is effectively contrasted with the earlier scene between Warner and Miss Ascham; but in both the interest depends more upon the skill with which the actors are grouped upon the stage than upon minute analysis of inward feeling. In the first volume this method is felt to be defective, because there the action advances but slowly, and we are made more sensible of the slightness of the characterization by the mass of extraneous matter with which it is encumbered. Much that the writers have to say about the pulpit and the stage is admirable in itself; but it fails to advance the particular history to which it is attached. We are too much interested in the fate of the characters introduced to be able to feel much appetite for a dissertation upon the acting of Macready. But in the second volume this fault is cured. It implies high praise of any artistic composition to be able to say that it grows in strength and attraction as it advances, and this may fairly be said of *Masston*. The climax of the story is cleverly conceived, and strongly expressed. Something must be left to the reader of novels to discover for himself, and we will merely hint that the plot of *Masston* has its surprises even for those who are skilled in predicting the contents of the final volume. That the bubble of Warner's reputation is at last burst will be readily understood. Such a villain could not be allowed to leave the stage unpunished, and the means which have been chosen for his punishment again reveal to us a remarkable command of the sources of dramatic effect. The authors, however, would have given an air of stronger probability to this part of their story if they had been more careful to mark, in the growth of individual character, the lapse of time necessary for their scheme. There must be an interval of at least two-and-twenty years between the abandonment of Sarah Armstrong and the end of the story; but the changes which these years would work are scarcely realized at all in regard to several of the subordinate characters. Julia Ascham, whose coquettish repulse of Mr. Sweetapple's advances forms the subject of some of the lighter scenes of the book, must by that time be quite an old maid, and Sarah Armstrong herself must be still further advanced in years. This, however, is an oversight that scarcely touches the essential merit of the novel, which is mainly derived from the fortunes and the fate of Robert Warner.

We have already hinted that the authors of *Masston* have not by any means exhausted the dramatic capabilities of their story. The manner in which they have brought about the ruin of the prosperous and perfidious manufacturer is sufficiently effective, but the central idea upon which they have worked is so good in itself that we are almost surprised it was not still further developed. Having once determined to make Hugh Arden an unwitting instrument of his father's overthrow, there seems no good reason why the full force of the situation should not have been expressed. If there was need of a trial scene, why was not Warner a prisoner instead of a witness with Arden, as the prosecuting instead of the defending counsel? As it is, this trial scene is chiefly interesting by reason of the vivid power with which it is presented. The prisoner, Paul Blanchard, is a subordinate character, and his guilt or innocence cannot greatly affect any of the principal actors in the story. Although he had been wrongly accused, the fault did not lie with Warner, who had no interest in his ruin, and who was probably quite as anxious as anybody else for his acquittal. On the other hand, several of the nefarious acts of Warner's career might easily have been converted into crimes known to the law, the penalties of which might have been urged against him by his own son. But the authors of *Masston* have not chosen to avail themselves of this situation, nor have they thought fit to make the most of the rivalry existing between Warner and Jeavons. From the opening chapters it would almost appear that the conflict of these two characters was to form the principal theme of the book. But this conflict is not maintained, unless indeed the enterprise of Jeavons in establishing a co-operative store is intended as a counterpoise to Warner's gigantic operations at the Oxford brass-works. Our authors evidently attach considerable importance to this co-operative scheme, and its machinery is described with some minuteness and considerable enthusiasm. It may be objected, however, that the discussion of social and industrial problems is everywhere conducted with too

* *Masston: a Story of these Modern Days.* By A. J. Duffield and W. H. Pollock. 2 vols. London: Smith, Elder, & Co.

little certainty of purpose. It is not made sufficiently clear whether Warner is to be regarded as the representative of a class whose meanness of character is the inevitable outgrowth of the modern principles of business, or whether his career is merely a study of individual duplicity. Assuming the former hypothesis to be correct, we cannot but think that the conclusion is both extravagant and unjust. A belief in the absolute degradation of our own time is no doubt sanctioned by the authority of a certain school of philanthropy, which finds therein a larger area for its rhetoric. Writers like Mr. Carlyle and Mr. Ruskin are stimulated to greater intensity and a higher eloquence of speech under the conviction that they are addressing a forlorn society; but we are disposed to think that their method is scarcely a safe example for others. At any rate, to the novelist who has the higher duty of human portraiture, such humanitarian onslaughts are an interruption; and the merits of *Maston* would have been better displayed if the authors had been less troubled about the safety of society.

SOUTH AFRICA, PAST AND PRESENT.*

THE prospective consolidation of the British and Dutch settlements and Kaffir reserves, occupying all the temperate region of South Africa, which is equal to all Western Europe, should be regarded with some interest. Lord Carnarvon's permissive Bill for the voluntary confederation of those provinces, and more or less self-governed territories, has not escaped discussion. But this has turned, not so much upon the convenience and facility of their political union, as upon the recent annexation of the Transvaal country to Her Majesty's colonial empire. It is frankly acknowledged by the advocates of the proposed confederation, which may perhaps even borrow its title from that of Canada, and be called the South African Dominion, that they expect it will peaceably absorb the remaining Dutch Free State. This expectation can only be justified by substantial proofs that such a consummation will be satisfactory to the independent people beyond the Orange River. Their situation is different from that of their unsuccessful neighbours beyond the Vaal, whose nominal commonwealth, having broken down in every function of government, was in danger of falling prey to its savage foe. The Orange River State, if it chooses for some time to decline incorporation with the British provinces, may suffer the loss of benefits to be derived from social and commercial intercourse with them. But it will henceforth be safely protected by their surrounding vicinity from any possible disturbance of its borders on the part of the Kaffir tribes, Basutos, or Zulus, or others. So long as the Boers who originally planted that settlement, or their immediate descendants, could still form the ruling majority of its republican citizens, they might think it even less worth while than before the Transvaal was annexed to surrender their own national independence. Their votes will hereafter, in all probability, be gradually overpowered by those of new settlers from among the English and Dutch subjects of Her Majesty in the Cape Colony and emigrants direct from Great Britain. But it would be neither wise nor just to insist upon a premature anticipation of this process; and it is to be hoped that the future Confederation or Dominion will put no unfair pressure, by vexatious tariffs, for instance, upon a community that may be slow to see the advantages of the political partnership.

The history of all these colonial offshoots and adjuncts or appendages of the old Cape Colony is related by Mr. Noble, as well as that of the introduction of constitutional government in the metropolitan first settlement. His book is a very fair sketch of the eventful course, frequently impeded by startling checks and reverses, through which South African colonization has struggled and blundered during the past half-century. The blundering, we are fain to confess, has been most commonly that of our Colonial Office, while the settlers and their sons in the colony, or in the territories outside its frontier, have borne their struggles with admirable fortitude. Englishmen and Dutchmen have in this field of action displayed, with more equal opportunities than on the banks of the Hudson in North America, their peculiar faculty of sticking to the ground they have once gained, and as individual householders making the best of their position. The Dutch colonists have indeed shown less aptitude for social organization; and their efforts to construct self-ruling States have not been very successful; but they may yet contribute a valuable ingredient to the rising mixed nation of European race in South Africa. This desirable result has been more than once balked in former years by the inconsistent behaviour of our Imperial Government, in playing fast and loose with the repeated secession of the Voortrekkers or discontented pioneers of agricultural and pastoral enterprise. It is not too late, however, in the absence of a European rival power, and in presence of a hostile native power menacing their defenceless farms, to win back the Boers' allegiance, which the British Empire had injudiciously cast away. Their loyal cooperation may yet be needed in the difficult task of managing an immense and various population of Kaffirs, driven by advancing civilization into the lands adjacent to the East coast. The enormous disproportion, increasing rather than diminishing in some provinces, between the native and the white inhabitants, will become more perilous than ever unless the Dutch and English public

forces be united in one compact body, with an effective subordination of local to general interests. We imagine that there is not much time to be lost in completing this necessary transformation.

It is commonly understood that the old Dutch colonial dominion, which was sequestered by Great Britain during the war against Napoleon I., and was formally transferred to her dominion in 1815, had been a plant of tardy and feeble growth. Yet its territorial extension, though with scanty actual occupation, was far greater than we are apt to suppose, being limited by the Fish River, next to which lies the Eastern Province, formed by Scottish and English settlers in 1820. The Borderers of Graaf Reinet and Albany, fifty years ago, were called upon to wage ceaseless warfare in defence of their homes against the savage enemy hovering on the Zuurberg. Every hill and every stream on that side of the colony has its tale of sanguinary strife, and too often relentless massacre. Five important Kaffir wars—notably in 1834, 1846, and 1851—have tried the skill of British general officers and burthened the national revenue. The alternative was to permit "commandoes" of rude local militia, under no strict discipline or rule of conduct, to deal at their mercy with a human foe for somewhat more obnoxious than the wild beast of the desert. As the result of our gentler method, the Kaffirs are by no means exterminated or likely to depart from existence. There remain about two hundred thousand of them within the Cape Colony, and in the Transkei districts and Basutoland nearly three hundred thousand, besides a still greater number in Natal, and not less in the Transvaal—altogether exceeding a million, grouped in several powerful confederations of tribes. We do not reckon the independent nations. These people, superior in bodily and mental faculties to any race of tropical Africa, own a vast amount of cattle, and seldom lack means of subsistence. The probability of their forming hostile combinations is rather increased by their present situation, collected apart from the white settlers, and placed in separate tracts of country which lie contiguous to each other, not divided, but linked together, by the intervening mountain ranges. The position of Natal, with these populous native preserves, though under British official superintendence, on its southern and western borders, and with an independent Zulu kingdom adjacent to the Transvaal, close to its northern boundary, does not look very secure. In Natal, however, with an extremely small proportion of white men to black men, say one to fifteen or seventeen, the former have the advantage of a seaport for the landing of our troops and guns. In the Transvaal, which the sea does not approach within a hundred miles, and which mainly consists of the interior table-land behind the Drakensberg, there is not the same facility of prompt military succours. Hence the obvious expediency of a political union for the common aims of systematic policy and administrative force. The aggregate European population of South Africa being under half a million, of which two-thirds belongs to the old colony, it is evident that the outlying provinces can hardly afford to stand alone.

The reluctance, in past times, both of our Imperial Government and of the Boers' no-government, to accept this view of their natural interests and duties, has cost them a good deal of trouble. By giving up the Orange River sovereignty in 1852 and the Transvaal territory in 1854 to the Dutch emigrants from Her Majesty's dominion, who were not at all fit and sufficient for the establishment of new Republics in the face of a too powerful foe, the Colonial Office in no degree got rid of its moral responsibility. It was compelled in both instances, as well for the sake of humanity as for the safety of the British settlements, to break its own promise of not again interfering with disputes between the seceding Dutchmen and the wild nations beyond its frontier. All historical experience goes to prove the impossibility of this attitude of serene indifference being maintained by the actual paramount Power, though renouncing every claim of formal allegiance, in a region portioned out between diverse half-organized or wholly barbarous communities. The result is inevitable; and a little reflection might have taught Mr. Courtney and other members of Parliament, who object to the annexation of the Transvaal, that under these circumstances it is an urgent duty to perform an act of territorial aggrandizement. The Empire owes this to mankind as well as to its own subjects. "Haec est, in gremio victus quae sola recipit, matris, non domine, ritu." England has indeed no right to turn away her stepchildren while they are unable to take care of themselves.

From a perusal of Mr. Noble's temperate narrative of British dealings with the Dutch Border provinces and would-be States, it seems that the Ministry in Downing Street was more anxious to get rid of them, with the exception of Natal, than ever the Boers were to depart from British protection. It was like thrusting a troublesome boy out of his parent's house as soon as he threatens to run off in a peevish fit of disobedience and ill-temper. The intentions of Pieter Retief and his followers, some forty years ago, when they crossed the Gariep and the Drakensberg, with their families and bond-servants, their flocks and herds, like the Israelites in their journey to Canaan, were plainly avowed. But the survivors of their contest with the ferocious and treacherous Dingaan, who succeeded his dreadful brother Chaka in the rule of the warlike Zulu tribes, were soon forced to respect the title of the British Crown on the Eastern seacoast. Natal was declared a British Colony in 1843, when many of the Boers chose to repose the mountains and to dwell in the vacant interior lands, both to the south and to the north of the Vaal River. It was notorious at that time that our Government was averse to

* *South Africa, Past and Present: a Short History of the European Settlements at the Cape.* By John Noble, Clerk of the House of Assembly at the Cape Colony. London: Longmans.

any further extension of its colonial territory, and had positively forbidden its agents to take steps for that purpose. But no express release from their political allegiance had then been given to the emigrants beyond the Orange River; they were simply let alone. The unauthorized act of Mr. Menzies, a Judge of the Civil Courts, in proclaiming the sovereignty of Queen Victoria over all South Africa to the twenty-fifth degree of latitude, suddenly raised the question of their political independence. It was made the subject of many inconclusive pretensions and altercations during five or six years, till Sir Harry Smith, with an extraordinary mixture of coaxing, preaching, scolding, and menacing, signified to the Boers that they were a set of ungrateful rebels, and that he would give them a flogging for their own good. Sir Harry kept his word at the battle of Boomplats, and the Orange River sovereignty was formally established in 1848, with the sanction of Her Majesty's Ministers. But these official authorities disliked the irksome task of adjusting complicated squabbles incessantly arising between the Boers and their neighbours, the Griquas and the Basutos, who were more apt than the Boers were to invoke British protection. It seemed, therefore, expedient to Earl Grey that the Orange River sovereignty, and of course the implied dominion over its people gone further north, should be abandoned in 1851, when the Boers, after the defeat of Pretorius, had acquiesced in its title, though unwilling to do it active service. This disastrous surrender, the spontaneous act of the Home Government, was executed by Sir George Cathcart and Sir George Clerk, in compliance with their strict orders. Great Britain was led to fancy that she had finally washed her hands of the bloodshedding, as of the expenditure, in the wars then impending with those native tribes. It is not pleasant to think how the inevitable source of such wars had been left by us in secret articles, concerning the Griqua and Basuto lands, appended to the convention for the acknowledgment of the Orange River Free State. As the Griqua and Basuto chiefs were kept in ignorance of those articles, they presently got involved in serious quarrels with the Free State; and some of the most hideous deeds of wholesale cruelty, with the destruction of many thousand lives, were the consequence of this double dealing.

The proximate effect of these events was that the British Government was soon obliged to adopt those unhappy native chiefs and their people—Moshesh, Adam Kok, Waterboer, and the rest of them—as Her Majesty's subjects, in order to save them from extermination, and to provide for their peaceful subsistence. The Orange River State has got quit of them, and has received from us a round sum of money in compensation for its claims on West Griqualand, including the famous diamond fields, which are certainly worth that price. The value of the Transvaal gold-fields is not yet so fully proved; but there can be no doubt that all these provinces will form a desirable addition to our colonial empire. It is only to be regretted that they were not annexed and occupied and properly governed a quarter of a century ago, in which case Natal also would now have been in a far more advanced condition. There is reason to believe that South Africa, taken as a whole, might have equalled Australia by this time in productive wealth and civilized population but for the mistaken policy of the Imperial Government. Its geographical position, climate, soil, and mineral riches, if the last-mentioned item prove equal to samples already procured, are not inferior to those of our remoter southern colonies; its extent of available fertile lands is probably much greater, and it lies within half the distance of Britain. The only apparent drawback on these promising advantages, in the case of Natal more particularly, is the presence of an overwhelming majority of the native race. But, if our missionary efforts and our industrial and commercial example be good for anything, the black fellows should be made a profitable social element. We ought to see that million and a half of pastoral savages by and by converted into useful agricultural labourers of the English pattern, submissive to the farmer, the parson, and the squire, or toiling "hands" as meek as those of our mining and manufacturing districts, to say the least of it. The day may yet arrive for some colonial Governments to undertake this grand work of reclaiming and educating a native population. Its successful accomplishment would be the noblest kind of conquest that any public authority could achieve; and it would make British South Africa, we suppose, one of the happiest countries in the world. But there are no signs of such a blessed consummation in the present age.

ACCOUNTS OF THE LORD HIGH TREASURER OF SCOTLAND.*

THE history of Scotland has been made the subject, directly and indirectly, of so much romance that a notion has got abroad that the country has no original records worth preserving. This notion is now to be convincingly refuted by the publication by authority of a new series of volumes of the original materials for the history of Scotland. That these valuable documents should thus be put within the reach of the reading world is due, we believe, to the exertions of Mr. Hill Burton, the learned Historiographer for Scotland. Having swept away with a ruthless hand the fabulous history of his country, Mr. Burton is now devoting himself to the task of bringing her authentic

records to the light. That there is no lack of these records may be gathered from the fact that there are no fewer than sixty-eight volumes of the Lord Treasurer's accounts preserved in the Register House, of which we have here the first instalment. The accounts in the present volume cover a quarter of a century, from 1473 to 1498. Like too many of the memorials of the early history of Scotland, they are only fragmentary. There are no accounts from 1474 to 1488, nor again from 1492 to 1494. Such as they are, they are of special historical value as throwing light on the political history of the time, and affording graphic illustrations of the domestic manners of the period, both at Court and among the people. It must be borne in mind that the Treasurer's was an office of comparatively late institution. Like most of the official dignities of the later kingdom, it was introduced by James I. among the other political reforms by which he strove to make his own people more like the more orderly and more civilized nation in whose land a strange chain of circumstances had compelled him to pass the greater part of his life. Before the time of James I. the administration of the revenue had been in the hands of the Lord Chamberlain. His office was thus one of great power and trust; and, as it was usually held by one of the great nobles, it made him for the time being only second in influence to the King. As the object of James was to curb in all possible ways the power of his nobles, which he clearly saw overshadowed the Crown and crippled the power of the King, he instituted two new officers, a Comptroller and a Treasurer, to whom was entrusted the administration of the Exchequer. The Comptroller had the management of that part of the revenue which was drawn from the rents of the Crown lands, the burgh mails, and the Customs, while the Treasurer had the control of the money paid in feudal dues, fines, and special taxes. These dues were collected by the sheriffs, stewards, and bailies all over the kingdom. The King was in the habit of drawing on the revenue during the time of its collection by granting warrants to these officers to make certain payments, such as pensions, salaries, and fees for the Crown in their several districts. These sums they deducted from the account which they ought to have rendered to the Lord Treasurer. The Court of Exchequer for the auditing of these accounts was held once a year, but at no settled time or place. As the Exchequer was thus itinerant, following the motions of the King, it had no special building assigned to it. Out of the fund at his disposal, the Treasurer had to pay all such expenses of the King and Queen as were not defrayed by the Master of the Household, as well as the cost of their wardrobe and the liveries of all their attendants. He also had to defray the expenses of the royal stable as far as concerned the buying of horses and the cost of their trappings and accoutrements. The provender of the horses, as well as the expenses of the royal table, fell to the charge of the Comptroller. On the other hand, the Treasurer was responsible for the maintenance in proper repair of the King's houses and castles, for the supply of bullion to be furnished to the Mint, and for the enforcement of all the statutes by which the coinage was regulated. He had also to furnish the sum required for the service in the Chapel Royal, the King's alms, his various bounties, and his private gifts, whether to foreign Ambassadors or to favourite shrines. In time of war all the expenses of the artillery, for the purchase and carriage of the guns, and other engines of war, fell to the charge of the Lord Treasurer, as well as the pay of the mercenaries, or "wageours," employed to augment the feudal force.

As the greater part of the funds at the disposal of the Lord Treasurer came from the feudal dues, it was his interest to see that the payment of these was not evaded, and his influence with the King usually settled the question as to who should be the favoured bidder among those who were always eager to take the often difficult task of collecting such dues out of the hands of the Crown in exchange for a sum of money paid down at once. This influence made the Treasurer a person of great importance in the kingdom; but at first he had no precedence from his office, only holding the place which belonged to his own personal rank. Like most of the great offices of the Crown in Scotland, the Treasury was frequently given to an ecclesiastic, for the Crown was too weak to make it safe to put so much power into the hands of a noble. Of the three Lord Treasurers whose accounts are reprinted in the present volume, two are churchmen—John Laing, Bishop of Glasgow, and George Schaw, Abbot of Paisley. The third is Sir William Knollis, whose account contains a very curious inventory of the contents of the treasury and jewel-house when they came under his charge at the accession of James IV. His account, and that of his predecessor in office, Bishop Laing, have been printed verbatim, while those which follow have been cut down by leaving out entries of no special interest or importance. The inventory in Sir William Knollis's account was taken on his entrance into office, and gives a higher idea than is generally entertained of the treasure of the King of Scots. It was taken soon after the battle of Sauchieburn, where a great part of the King's hoarded wealth which he had taken with him to the field had been lost or stolen. When an inquiry was instituted by order of the Parliament, the late Treasurer, the Countess of Athole, and other persons were made to give up chests of gold which they had appropriated, and even the smith who opened the locks of the boxes that remained, managed to abstract "in gold fourti demyis and in Ingis grotis xxxij. ii." The inventory of the objects that went to make up the King's jewelry is a strange medley, and throws some light on the ideas of value held in the middle ages; for among jewelled crosses, bullion beads, gold and silver plate, were preserved with equal care what seem to us commonplace

* *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland.* Edited by Thomas Dickson, Curator of the Historical Department of the General Register House. Vol. I. 1473-1498. Edinburgh: H. M. General Register House. 1877.

articles, such as a "great ostrich feather," a glass of rose-water, or a bag of lavender, as well as some valuable relics, "fourre masaris callit King Robert the Brucis, and King Robert Brucis serk." Again and again we find serpent tongues set down as if they were most precious gems. What these serpent tongues were is a matter of much controversy. Mounted in silver or gold, the serpent tongue was used as an "épreuve," or test for detecting poison in food or drink. Some authorities think that it was a real serpent's tongue, which was supposed to have the faculty of detecting the presence of poison; others that it was one of the fossils brought by pilgrims from Malta. These small tongue-shaped fossils were supposed by the vulgar to be petrified vipers' tongues, and were supposed to possess miraculous powers as charms.

Not only do the Accounts illustrate the manners of the nation in the middle ages, they are also of much interest to the student of philology as curious specimens of language. Among the first of the obsolete words that strikes us is "Alanelly" for "only." This suggests a curious piece of confusion in nomenclature, by which "Anerly," the well-known suburb of London, has got its name. Few people know that this "Anerly" is simply the Scotch word "lanelly," the name which a Scotchman who bought land in that then lonely region gave to the house he built upon it. The Cockney habit of putting in 'r's has changed it unconsciously to *Anerly*, which comes very near its primitive form. Another curiously suggestive word is "Avery," which was applied to the officer of the household who had charge of the oats and other provender for the King's horses. Many of the words that seem altogether puzzling at first sight are evident importations from France, and bear witness to the familiar intercourse kept up between the two countries. Of these are "lorymare," a maker of spurs and bridles, the old French word for a *bit* being "lorain"; "charnale," a hinge; "gummel," a twin; "kyrpe," crêpe; "rouane," a kind of cloth from Rouen; "bulget," a sort of bag. On the other hand, "cremar," a pedlar, "sture," a surgeon, and "Rusiliss," the name constantly used for Lille, which is clearly the Dutch Rijssels, with many more, are of unmistakable Flemish origin.

The Accounts refer to the period when Scotland first began to be involved in European politics. Hitherto her foreign policy had been of the simplest, and merely consisted in taking the part of France whenever she had a dispute with England, or rather making the differences of these countries an excuse for a raid into the northern counties of England. In the reign of James IV., however, the alliance of Scotland was eagerly sought by Spain; and, when James received Perkin Warbeck as the Duke of York, Scotland and Burgundy were drawn together, and consequently there was much coming and going between Scotland and Flanders. It was in this reign, too, that a Spanish Ambassador first visited the Scottish Court. His report of the social and domestic life of the people shows that Scotland was not in the barbarous state that is too often supposed. The Treasurer's accounts bear witness that such comforts as glass windows, grates, bath-rooms, fine furniture, and specially costly beds, were in use by the King and Queen, whatever discomforts their subjects might have to put up with. A carpet, too, or "lyare," is among the furniture, though this was a luxury kept for the King only, as is shown by the entries of "bent silver" paid to the officer whose duty it was to purvey fresh rushes for the floors of the palace chambers.

The many accomplishments of the King made a great impression on the mind of Don Pedro de Ayala, the Spanish Ambassador, who wrote of him with admiration to his own sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella. But one of his acquirements he does not mention—to wit, his skill in leechcraft, of which the King himself was not a little proud. His subjects do not seem to have had much confidence in that skill, nor were they willing to become his patients unless they were bribed for it. One entry in the account is a sum paid to one Domynico to "give the King leave to let him blood." It is pleasant to find that the popular King's account-book keeps up his character for good-nature, generosity, and consideration of the poor. Besides his regular alms, which were constant and liberal, there are entries of monies paid not only to every one who brought him presents, however trifling, and to those who welcomed him with singing and playing on the "clarubec," or pipe, but also to such of his servants as were sick, to fishermen who got their boat knocked to pieces when he visited Arras, and to sundry poor women who complained of the damage which he had done to their corn while hunting. His generosity in giving away his garments to those persons to whom he wished to show favour, no matter what their rank, from ambassadors down to falconers, entailed the constant renewing of his wardrobe. Mr. Dickson in his preface has made the calculation that

the first two years of his reign, though then in minority, he had fifty-two gowns, twenty-five of them long and twenty-seven half long, forty-seven doublets, five jackets and two hawking coats, seven tippets, thirty-five bonnets, seven of them described as round, fifteen hats, of which one was a "bevir hat," six caps to ride with—some "nekkyt" or "luggyt," sixty-four pairs of hose and sixty-four dozen points; one pair of "logouris" or gaiters to be worn with short hose, together with shirts, napkins, and kerchiefs of Holland cloth.

Furs of all sorts were in great request for the royal robes, especially "Cristy-grey," a name not easily identified with any skin still in use, and "Romany budge," which was dressed lamb-skin from Apulia, much the same as that now known as Astracan.

As the expenses of the King's table were defrayed by the Com-

troller, there is not much information as to eating and drinking to be got from the Treasurer's accounts. There are, however, occasional entries. From other sources the editor has gleaned much curious and interesting information, which he gives in his preface. From it we learn that the porpoise, the seal, and even the polypus were esteemed delicacies. French wines were drunk by the wealthy, but beer was the beverage most in use, and the brewing trade was then entirely in the hands of women called "brewster wives." Whisky, now the national drink, was almost unknown, and though it is mentioned in the accounts, it was evidently regarded more as a cordial or drug than a liquor for common use. Cider, too, is once mentioned as forming part of the provisions of the ship fitted out for Perkin Warbeck. And there is one entry of the purchase of "apill oreengeis" or oranges. As one of the qualities which made James IV. popular was an intense love of amusements of all sorts, there are continual entries of sums advanced to the King for play at cards. Hunting and hawking were his favourite field sports, and no expense or pains were spared to get him hawks to his mind. A hawk seems to have been as dear in those days as a horse is now, for the King, we find, gave the Earl of Angus 100*l.* for a hawk, and that when an ox could be bought for 1*l.*, and a carcass of mutton for 2*s.* 10*d.*, and when the entire "gratting" or fitting out of a galley cost only 22*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

The account of Sir George Galbraith gives the most minute details of the building of a great row-boat for the King at Dumbarton, as well as the repairing of the ship *Christopher*. In another page we have a detailed description of the pavilion prepared for the King when a "Royal raid" was in prospect. In short, there is no part of social science or domestic economy about which these Accounts do not give both minute and trustworthy information. Mr. Dickson has fulfilled his task of editing these records with great care and accuracy. His long and interesting preface contains an excellent summary of the reigns of the Third and Fourth Jameses, as well as an abstract of the most interesting entries contained in the Accounts classed under the several heads to which they belong, and illustrated by references to contemporary records of a similar nature. The only improvement which we can suggest is the addition of marginal dates, which would be a great assistance to the understanding of the text.

THREE MINOR NOVELS.*

SHAMROCK AND ROSE is a very harmless, if a somewhat silly, story. With the exception of a set of Irish peasants, who only appear in the opening scene, when they behave as rudely as if they were Home Rule members of Parliament, there is only one person in the whole book who has any inclination to be naughty. She, indeed, goes so far as to steal a diamond cross, and so to bring suspicion on her fellow-servant—the heroine. But she is dismissed from her master's house, and the story, with a prayer for her penitence, and no more is made of her wickedness than is required as a foil to the heroine's virtue. But stay, we are forgetting a young girl "with eyes like gentians and cheeks that shamed the wild-rose," a young girl of "undeniable loveliness." She, though she was for a time to steal away the heart of one whom we most reluctantly accept as hero, nevertheless, "utterly fascinated the impulsive Kathleen," the heroine, and thus gave rise to the somewhat confusing reflection on the author's part, "How many hug to their bosoms the dagger that is to stab them." In our early days we were always puzzled with the taste of the countryman who took to his bosom the viper of the fable. But even he, we are never told, went so far as to hug it. That we should for a moment have forgotten this wicked girl, who is thus likened to a dagger and a dagger that is hugged, only proves how small a part wickedness plays in the story. Indeed the whole book is of so highly moral a tendency that it might be read aloud in a school for young ladies, or in any house where the literature is chiefly formed of tracts. Were we so fortunate as to possess a few copies ourselves, we should not hesitate for a moment in giving them all away, just as the vicar's wife in a country parish gives away her boxes of pills, though she never takes them herself, in the full persuasion that they cannot do any harm, and may do some good. The story opens, as we have said, among a mob of rude Irishmen, who are frightening a young Irish girl, Kathleen Beryl. At the same moment come up "Harry Melville, the heir of a wealthy English gentleman, and Frank Ashton, his servant, the only son of his steward." To our great perplexity, it is not Melville, the Captain in the Guards and the heir to 10,000*l.* a year, Melville, who "was considered a fascinating man by the most fastidious English judges," but the servant Frank, who sent one of the Irishmen "reeling into a neighbouring ditch." By all the rules that govern heroes and heroines, we could not but know that for a young man in the opening chapter to knock down the ruffian who is assaulting the young woman is a far surer sign that in the last chapter they will become man and wife than if they had been, not only betrothed, but were actually on their way to church with the parson, ring, and licence all ready. But could

* *Shamrock and Rose*. A Novel. By Ernest Ariel Wolfe. 1 vol. London : Remington & Co. 1877.

In the Spring-Time. A Novel. By Helen Gabrielle. 1 vol. London : Remington & Co. 1877.

The Dowerless Damsel: an Autobiography. By A. Dorset. London : Remington & Co. 1877.

it be intended that when there was a master, and such a master young, handsome, a Guardsman, and heir to 10,000 a year, it should be the servant that the heroine, and she a Kathleen, was to marry? We could not and we would not believe it. Had not Pamela married her young master, and should one as beautiful and as virtuous as Pamela marry the man? But yet the servant "as he looked down on Kathleen from his stately height" seemed to her—in words by the way that in the neglected state of her education she could not possibly have understood—"a very grand far away denizen of a sphere high above her." We clung almost against hope to the Guardsman, and did not lose all interest in the heroine till at last it became too plain in how unheroic a manner she was to act. It was in vain that the author brought in a very beautiful young lady for the Guardsman; we would have none of her. He might marry her, as, indeed, he did; but what interest had we in a couple who go clean against all the laws of heroism? Kathleen had in her "young nature wells of love and fidelity no demand could drain and no storm fathom." Some may ask how a storm can ever fathom a well. Our soul is too indignant with the whole course of the story to descend to such mere verbal criticisms. Otherwise we might ask how "flashes of summer lightning that illuminated the peaceful landscape" could be "lurid"? how "leaves rustled hoarsely"? and how "a wound that would leave a lasting scar" on two persons could at the same time "be a landmark on their road which could never be lost sight of"? We might further ask, on the supposition that the author is right in representing a distant hum as surging, whether she might have gone on to describe a distant surge as humming?

Indignant though we justly are, we must give our readers some further information about this book, which in all its innocence is yet so unnatural. It contains, then, many of those minute particulars which, uninteresting as they are to the male sex, yet, to judge by the amount of talk bestowed on them, have no small attractions for the ladies. There are no less than three weddings in the story, three young and handsome bridegrooms married to three young and beautiful brides. Not only are full details given as to the dress which each bride wore, but in one case as to the dress which one of the brides had intended to wear, though she never wore it. What young lady who delights in the long list of wedding presents will not take as much pleasure in reading the following list as ever an ancient Greek took in Homer's catalogue of ships?

Here were many substantial proofs of the esteem in which the family held Frank, and of her own popularity with her employers. In a case, with a glass cover, was Mr. Melville's cheque for the five hundred pounds; a tea set, and silver teapot from Mr. and Mrs. Teniswood; a watch, the joint gift of Clarice and Madelaine; a handsome tankard from Melville to Ashton, inscribed with their names, and the words, "in grateful acknowledgment of many services, and in memory of Alma and the other great battles of the Crimean war"; a cream jug from the Colonel's brothers; a pair of saltcellars from Mr. Gair; candlesticks from Matthews; a set of brushes and combs from Finch; a dozen silver teaspoons from an uncle of Frank's; a small copper stewpan from the cook; a pair of vases from Jane; a miniature medicine chest from generous old Dr. Taylor, and many other little gifts of less value. To these Mrs. Douglas added an exquisitely bound Bible and Prayer book.

Those ladies who are too old to take much interest in wedding presents, but not too old to take interest in other people's ailments, will read with pleasure the chapter of no less than ten pages in which is described an unfortunate cold that kept Kathleen in bed at the time of the wedding of one of her young mistresses. They will be interested to learn that "she sipped her tea, but could not eat; her throat was swollen, and to swallow gave her pain." They will be pleased to find that, in spite of her suffering, she was able to attend to neatness. "She brushed out her long hair, put the bed-clothes as smooth and neat as she could, and then lay down to await, as patiently as might be, the advent of the next person who should bring tidings from below." But, if they are like ourselves, they will be only the more indignant that so admirable and so virtuous a young person did not marry the Guardsman. Those who are loyal—and which of us are not loyal?—will be glad to learn that "one day Kathleen came home more than usually pleased at having seen the Queen and several members of the Royal Family." Those who are somewhat superstitious will find more than one presentiment as well as "a voice in Kathleen's heart warning her" that, though at the opening of the Crimean War "the popular belief and expression of the hour was that the mere news of the arrival of the Guards in Malta would be sufficient to induce the Cabinet of St. Petersburg to abandon its long-cherished project," yet "real work lay before them." We wonder if, in the present time of suspense, there is to be found in England any lady-servant who has a like voice in her heart warning her too. If so, we trust that she will not keep it to herself, but will give her country the benefit of it. But *Shamrock and Rose* has taken enough of our time. We can, in conclusion, confidently recommend it as light reading to those who really and truly find enjoyment in what is called a quiet sociable tea-party.

In the *Spring-Time*, though a good deal sillier, is not in other respects so well suited for a young ladies' school, or establishment, to use the author's own word, as *Shamrock and Rose*. The heroine, though she repents, and, as she fully deserved, dies, yet at one time of her life intended to be very wicked. She was only saved from running away with her dearest friend's husband by the breaking out of the war between France and Germany. There was indeed something almost providential in the telegram which, on the evening appointed for the elopement, summoned her wicked lover, Count René de Montfort, to take his part in the French and German war, as the story opens on "a lovely afternoon in the

early spring of 1876." Ladies, whether they are authors or not, are not expected to know much of the history of their own times, or, at all events, of the years which are not yet included in the latest edition of *Mangan's Questions*. But still, however desirable it may have been that a wicked French Colonel should be killed without repenting at Gravelotte, and that an English governess, who was very far on the way to being equally wicked, should die, after repenting, in England, yet surely this end might have been just as well obtained without any wrong being done to chronology. We were indeed puzzled by the date before we reached the villain, and foresaw, as he was a soldier, the need of some battle in which he should be conveniently killed off. We had come upon the following passage, the truth of which we are not prepared either to admit or deny, though we could not see how the date of 1870 concerned a story that opened in 1876:—

He is talking to Kate, who is helping his two little girls to arrange the hoops for a game of croquet,—a game which was much in vogue in 1870, although it has almost entirely exploded now. Their occupation is one which takes both time and trouble.

We shall be careful, by the way, the next time we see croquet played to observe what is the condition of a game "which has almost entirely exploded."

The interest of the story lies in the fact that two people have married when each was in love with some one else. The wicked Colonel was in love with the heroine, Kate Howard, a governess, who resembled all governesses from the days of *Jane Eyre* in this, that she had "features that were certainly not good," while "the chief charm of the face lay in the lively dark grey eyes." The wicked Colonel's good wife, Helen, had, without knowing it, been in love with Walter Howard, Kate's brother. The ordinary way in a novel when the wrong people are married is, of course, for the least interesting of each couple to be sent off as early as possible to the next world. But that would never answer in the present case, for Helen could not marry Walter unless the Colonel were killed; and if the Colonel were killed, who was there to marry Kate? It might, no doubt, have been so arranged that Helen should have gone off in a decline and that the Colonel should have repented and lived; but what, in that case, was Walter to do? Happily it is a matter of utter indifference to the reader which of all the characters is killed off, for it is impossible that he can take the slightest interest in any of them. He would with the utmost calmness have seen Kate with her "lively dark grey eyes" and Helen with her "eyes of that china blue which is so rarely seen," and the Colonel "with his eyes dark and piercing" and his "lowrich voice," and Walter "with the same fine dark eyes as Kate," all buried in a row, whether with or without repentance. It is a pity that such silly books as these two should be written and so much good paper and ink spoilt. But so long as there are silly readers we cannot, we suppose, with any reason, hope to see the last of silly writers.

The *Dowerless Damsel*, though pleasantly enough written, contains no plot, and scarcely a story. The heroine, who tells her own tale, has indeed four offers of marriage, and can reckon among her rejected wooers a country rector, a captain in the army, and a baronet with 10,000 a year. As she takes leave of her readers as a married lady, it may be said that the offers she receives are not four but five. When love becomes serious, however, she does not wear her heart upon her sleeve, neither does she take her readers into her confidence. From the last page of her autobiography we infer that she is married; but to her husband we have never been so much as introduced. The author, we should fancy, like most of us, not having in her experience come across anything like what is called a plot, does not care, after the fashion of so many writers, to go against all nature in inventing one. She has, however, seen not a little in life that is worth describing, and she happily possesses in no small degree the art of description. If we may look upon the narrative as founded upon real life, she passed two years as governess in the family of a Pasha—an Italian by birth—high in the service of the Khedive. At all events, whatever may have been her position, it is quite clear that, in writing of life in Alexandria, she is writing of what is well within her experience. Her governess life is brought to a close partly on account of a proposal made to her by a French gentleman, whom she could only reject by avoiding altogether, and partly by her discovery that she possessed considerable powers as an artist. She went to Italy, and studied art at Naples and Rome. Lively as her narrative generally is, it would have been still more lively had she not stopped from time to time to moralize. Ladies, we know, are naturally given to preaching whenever they get the pen in their hand. Nevertheless, if they want to make a book that is sure to be read, they would do better, when they have relieved their consciences by putting in their bits of sermons, to relieve their readers by striking them all out.

PERSIAN FABLES.*

FABLES which have delighted the whole Eastern world from remote antiquity, and which have become popular tales in Sanscrit, Arabic, Hebrew, Syriac, Persian, Turkish, Greek, Hindostani, and a host of other dialects, can hardly fail to possess some interest for the English reader; we accordingly welcome a new translation of the *Anvar-i-Suhaili*, the Persian version of the

* The *Anvar-i-Suhaili*; or, *Lights of Canopus*. Translated from the Persian by Arthur N. Wollaston. London: Allen & Co. 1877.

fables of the Indian sage Vishnu-Sharma, or, as he is generally styled, Pilpay. The book is not unknown in this country, an elaborate translation having been published in 1854 by Mr. Eastwick, in which the prose portions of the text are rendered into elegant English prose, and the verse passages into indifferent English verse. Mr. Wollaston's translation is intended more as a *vade mecum* to the study of the text than as a literary performance; and, where the two are incompatible, elegance has been made to give place to accuracy. The book is a conscientious literal translation of one of the most difficult works in the Persian language, and, considering the stumbling-blocks that beset him in nearly every passage of the original, the translator has acquitted himself in a most creditable manner.

It was not to be expected that the five hundred pages which the book contains could be free from errors; but those that do occur are seldom serious ones, and they apparently arise for the most part from the want of a personal acquaintance with the East, and possibly from the absence of a knowledge of Arabic, without which it is almost impossible thoroughly to appreciate and understand Mohammedan literature. In p. 19 of the translation (p. 20 of the text) we find the lines:—

I wish for solitude, so that, if like a whirlwind the revolution of the spheres
Should strike this paltry world, it would not touch me.

Mr. Eastwick renders the last hemistich:—

Should smite this rubbish-bag of worldly things; the blow may fail to injure me.

Both translators here evidently mistake *bizad*, "sifts," for *ba-zad*, "should strike." The correct translation is as follows:—"I wish for such solitude that if the revolution of the wheel of fortune should, like a whirlwind, sift the ash-heap of time, it would not find my dust." Again, in p. 25, appears what we are inclined to think a slight inaccuracy of interpretation. The words *yār i ghār* are translated "Companion of the Cave" in the following sentence:—"At the skirt of the hill a dark cave appeared, with a man of enlightened mind sitting at the door thereof, and, like the 'Companion of the Cave,' freed from the vexation of rivals." In explanation of this Mr. Wollaston repeats the substance of Mr. Eastwick's note to the effect that "the Companion of the Cave" is Abu Bekr, who, together with Mohammed, remained concealed in a cave during the celebrated flight from Mecca. It seems to us much more probable that the reference is to the "Companions of the Cave," i.e. the seven sleepers of Ephesus spoken of in the Koran (Sūrat el Kehf), who are always cited as proverbial instances in Eastern writings of freedom from worldly care and perfect religious seclusion.

In page 26 also occurs a passage which experience of Persian life would have easily cleared up. We read:—"Having alighted from his horse and become familiarized with the saint's blessed words, he sought a supply of his grace." Mr. Eastwick has:—"And having with his auspicious words opened an acquaintance with him," &c.; adding in a note that "The expression is rather obscure; *istīds* signifies 'being intimate.'" Here again both translators are wrong. The passage means that the king alighted from his horse, and, having been made to feel at his ease by the saint's blessed breath, asked for his aid; *anfās* meaning, not "words," but literally "breath," the ordinary custom of dervishes being to bestow their blessing by breathing upon the recipient. In the heading of Book XIV. the translation of "*adam i iliyāt*" by *want of kindness*, instead of "not paying attention to," is doubtless a slip. In p. 124, where Mr. Wollaston chooses between Eastwick's and Keene's translation of a verse, and prefers the latter—

We must either with a hundred efforts work his sorrow with disgrace.
Or else we must place our feet in the sad abode of non-existence—
we think that he has not chosen wisely. Eastwick's rendering—

Or with a hundred woes bear with the thorns of this distress.
Or step into the drear abode of nothingness—

is much nearer the mark, for the Male-sandpiper in the story is telling the other birds that, unless they take immediate measures and act in concert to stay the ravages of the Genius of the Sea, the latter will so far get the upper hand that there will be nothing left for them but passive submission or extinction.

In the preceding page (123) the rendering of the well-known Arabic quotation (Koran xxiv. v. 33) by "Nothing belongs to the messenger but to arrive" is a serious blunder. It should be, as Eastwick gives it, "The duty of a messenger is but to convey his message"; but, as Mr. Wollaston in his preface acknowledges that he obtained the translation of all the Arabic passages from a Persian friend, such errors must not perhaps be charged to his account.

The inaccuracies of which we have spoken, and which we have taken quite at random, it will be seen do not materially affect the interpretation as a whole; and where an obscure passage has baffled the researches of so ripe a scholar as Mr. Eastwick undoubtedly is, a younger translator may well be excused for missing the exact meaning. As a guide to the student, however, the book is a very trustworthy one, and will prove a great acquisition to those who for the first time approach this most verbose composition.

To the ordinary English reader the fables are by no means uninteresting matter, abounding as they do in healthy moral reflections, and exquisite, though perhaps too elaborate, metaphors. Here and there we meet with very humorous stories—that for instance in page 351, which tells of a devoted mother who watched beside her sick daughter's bed and continually prayed, saying, "O

God! pardon this inexperienced creature and take this satiated old woman in place of her!" Presently a cow, which has contrived to get into the house, is attracted by the odour of some pot-herbs which are simmering on the fire, and, in endeavouring to taste the same, gets her head and horns hopelessly entangled in the caldron and rushes frantically about the house. The old woman meeting the awful figure of the maddened beast, mistakes it for Izra'il, the Angel of Death, and falling on her knees before it, says:—

Oh, Angel of Death! I am not Mahusti;
I am a decrepit, old, distressed woman;
If you desire to take her soul,
She is in the house, as you know.
If you are concerned with Mahusti,
Take her and leave me alone.

This and several others in the book remind us forcibly of the style of the Norse and German stories, to which indeed many Persian tales are closely akin.

The work is published in two separate editions; one a handsome but expensive volume suitable for the library or drawing-room table; the other is issued in a plainer and cheaper form, and will no doubt be eagerly sought after by the Civil Service and other Persian students for whose use it is intended. Both translator and publisher have done their work well, and we trust that the book may meet with the success which it deserves.

Although we are not criticizing the Persian text, we cannot refrain from paying a passing tribute of praise to the general accuracy of Colonel Ouseley's edition. But we would seriously advise him to cancel the last page in any future copies that may be sold; for the Arabic colophon which he has appended contains in its three lines no less than three gross solecisms; *tammati l'kitab*, for instance, is wrong, since *kitab* is not feminine in Arabic, whatever it may be in Hindustani; *fi tarikh awweli settener* is hardly an equivalent for *fi ghurri* or *fi laurweli min shahri aylal*, and in *sennah išawi*, a feminine noun is made to agree with a masculine adjective; such little slips are apt to detract from an editor's reputation for accurate scholarship.

RECENT SCHOOL TEXTS AND HANDBOOKS.*

THE early midsummer season of grammar-school examinations brings many illustrations of the quality of the intellectual pabulum on which the "young idea" of England is at present fed; and as few persons who have been much concerned in such solemnities can have failed to be struck with the scanty results of half-yearly study exhibited by the mass of the examinees, it is but fair to the purveyors of classical school literature that some estimate should be formed of the texts and helps which our University Presses and chief educational publishers in these days place in schoolboys' hands. It will be found, we suspect, that for the most part these are of a higher standard than was formerly the case; that more provision is made for the student's real needs and difficulties, a more constant eye kept to his entertainment as well as instruction, and greater care taken that editorial assistance shall not entirely supersede that self-help which beyond all doubt has the main part in making a scholar. Before us lie some eight volumes of the classical school-book type, all more or less fulfilling this aim and object; and we are sure that if but a moderate proportion of the exegetical matter contained in them were duly laid to heart, the residuum of information left in pupils' minds would be considerably greater than the ordinary experience of examiners can testify to. Unless we are much mistaken, the remedy for existing deficiencies is independent of manuals and text-books, and lies in supervised preparation of lessons, together with a strict reverting to those sound principles of *bond fide* construing, word for word and clause for clause, which characterized the workmanlike and accurate teaching of thirty years or so ago.

With such a system, duly carried out, it would be hard to conceive other than good results attending the use of Mr. Moberly's edition of Cæsar's *Commentaries on the Civil War*, a work which, like his previous Clarendon edition of the *Bellum Gallicum*, stands high amongst the best Rugby classics we have met. The editor clearly enjoys his subject, and approaches it with a sense of mastery both as to scholarship and history; and this is no slight matter to those into whose hands the book is to be put. It is of course a fond dream that boys read foot-notes, or, what are infinitely better, notes at the end of a volume; but when, as with Mr.

* 1. *Casar. Civil War.* Edited by Charles Edward Moberly, M.A., Assistant Master in Rugby School. Clarendon Press Series. Oxford. 1877.

2. *Planti Aulularia.* With Notes, Critical and Exegetical, and an Introduction. By Wilhelm Wagner, Ph.D., Professor at the Johanneum, Hamburg. Second Edition, re-written. Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, & Co. 1876.

3. *M. T. Ciceronis in Q. Caecilius Divinatio et in C. Verrem Actio Prima.* With Introduction and Notes by W. E. Heiland, M.A., and Herbert Cowie, M.A., Fellows of St. John's, Cambridge. Cambridge: Pitt Press Series. 1877.

4. *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidis Liber X.* Edited, with Notes, by A. Sidwick, M.A., Assistant Master in Rugby School. Cambridge Pitt Press Series. 1877.

5 & 6. *White's Grammar-School Texts. Cicero's Cato the Elder on Old Age, and Lælius on Friendship.* London: Longmans & Co. 1877.

7. *A First Greek Reader for Use at Eton.* By the Rev. Edmund Fowle. London: Longmans & Co. 1877.

8. *A Primer of Greek Accidence for the Use of Schools.* By Evelyn Abbott, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Balliol, and E. D. Mansfield, B.A., Assistant Master at Clifton College. With a Preface by John Percival, M.A., LL.D., Head-Master of Clifton College, &c. London: Rivingtons. 1877.

Moberly, the text is explained and illustrated with tact and moderation as well as interesting parallelism, it is at least possible that the pupil who is tempted by curiosity to dive into a note here and there may be led to renew and extend his researches. The field of the Civil War is to us more interesting than that of the Gallic, and possesses the attraction of dealing with chief actors on both sides with whom we have familiar acquaintance elsewhere. The campaigns, too, are sharp and decisive, and the war brief in proportion to its importance. Its events, as they succeed each other, are the more pleasantly and profitably scanned with the assistance of an editor who is well read in the works of Sir William Napier and similar modern campaigners and commentators, and who knows how to adduce a parallel where it may serve to impress an event or situation on the mind. In the fourteenth chapter of the First Book, for example, *à propos* of the arming of the gladiators, and the disfavour with which it was generally regarded, he quotes from Sir C. Napier's "Letters and Journals" the proposal during the American war of 1813 to arm the negroes of the Southern States, and the rejection of that proposal by the British Government. Another parallel is given in chap. 28, where the Brundisines, on discovering Pompey's retirement from their town and harbour, lost no time in signifying the fact to the besieging or investing forces of Caesar, with whom they sympathized. "They made signs from the roofs at every point." "The scene," it is added, "must have been like that in Oporto in 1809, when a loud, long shout in the town, and the waving of handkerchiefs from the windows, gave notice that the French had abandoned the lower city." (Napier, vol. ii. 107.) Mr. Moberly is evidently master of his author, and annotates him with loving nicey. At the mention of Ravenna, in c. 5, he sends his reader to Gibbon for a striking description of the place; at c. 25, *à propos* of the fortifications and floating mole at Brundisium, and the engineering works on both sides, he brings to bear his own observations; and in the case of the battles and sieges of the three books, we believe that his precision in describing operations and manœuvres would approve itself to military tutors. At the same time there is no lack of needful philological and geographical help. A note on "durius consule," in the sense of "meditating suicide," in c. 22, illustrates and parallels the use of the figure "litotes." On "Justum iter," in the next chapter, there is reference to Gibbon and Vegetius touching a Roman day's march and its comparison with the English; and in a note on a very early chapter Mr. Moberly sets forth, with a pleasant touch of irony, the reasonable expectations of a proconsul in his province—(1) enough to repay all his earlier expenditure as adile, prætor, &c.; (2) enough to bribe the judges if prosecuted for extortion; (3) enough to leave him, after acquittal, a colossal fortune." Throughout the chapters careful notice is taken of words exceptionally used—e.g. in I. c. 13, "rationem posteritatis," regard for the coming time, and of technical terms and expressions; and wherever we have examined them the maps and plans appear to be excellent.

When we pass to Dr. Wagner's second edition of the *Aulularia*, we feel that we have to do with an editor shrewd and profound in his classical knowledge, but less at home perhaps in the English language now that he hails from the Johanneum at Hamburg than when, at "Cottonopolis," as he calls Manchester, he first edited a play of Plautus for English scholars. We have heretofore noticed his labours on Plautus and Terence, and attach a high value to the introduction on "Latin Pronunciation as seen in the verses of the comic authors," which he reprints in the volume before us, as well as to his general insight into the text and interpretation of Plautus. Here and there, however, though he exults in his superior facilities in Hamburg as compared with those he enjoyed in the land of cotton-spinning, he needs Dr. Ernest Adams, or some friendly English scholar, at his elbow, if, as we suspect, upon *Aulularia*, v. 107—

Nam nobis nostra qui est magister curio—

he has found his English fail him, where he bids us "observe the fulsomeness of expression in 'nobis nostra,'" but means, we suppose, to bid us observe the "pleonasm." The *medea*, indeed, which he seems prepared to borrow from O. Seyffert, "Nestor nostra," does not seem to us as so ingenious as it does to Dr. Wagner; but we are bound to point to a good many philological and grammatical notes as proving his ability and skill as a commentator. At v. 100, on the line—

Si Bona Fortuna veniat, ne intro miseris—

which he rightly renders, and naturally, "let no one enter my house, not even Good Luck herself," Dr. Wagner sees no ground for supposing that the goddess had a temple near Eucleo's house, or on the already crowded Roman stage. In v. 199 he explains the verb "harpagare" as "a hybrid verb formed from the Greek ἀπναγῆν, repeatedly used by Plautus," to which he might have added that ἀπναγῆν = "a grapple," the exact correlative for "aurum harpagatum est" would be "my gold has been grabbed." But in v. 204, on "ex paupertate," he is over particular in doubting the interpretation of Hildyard, after Camerarius, that it is a case of the abstract for the concrete, *paupertate* being *i.e.* *ordine* or "numero pauperum." The Professor reprints a note from Riley's translation on 73, "Quasi claudus sutor domi sedet totos dies," which runs "Of course lame people would be the most likely to take such a sedentary employment as that of a cobbler"; but why not of a tailor? Dr. Wagner's *Aulularia* will be found very useful; but there is still room for other editions of the Plautine drama of the same style and form as two by Dr. Hubert

Holden, the *Miles Gloriosus* and the *Trinummus*, published some few years ago.

Next on our list comes the joint work of two Fellows of St. John's who have undertaken to put before students a sort of threshold, or "vestibulum," from which they may command a fairly exact view of all the pleadings of the Verrine impeachment. Mr. Heitland annotates the *Divinatio*, or "speech before an unsworn jury on the question who ought to have the preference to right of prosecuting" (see Appendix A), and Mr. Cowie the "Actio Prima in Verrem"; and, whilst both have brought to their task a great amount of reading and research, and even of new matter, it is evident that the whole work has been jointly carried through, or, as the editors say, "essentially done in common." The "Verrine orations" are a "big job," which no scholar of any pretension to wide reading omits to master; but we quite agree with these editors that, whilst the two orations now edited "are unique and pair well together," the five books of the *Accusatio* are "nothing more than a grand literary exercise, and involve a tedious study of inquiry in detail." Nay, more, we would suggest that a careful reading, with this Pitt Press text and notes, of the *Divinatio* and First Oration, with close attention to the niceties of Cicero's irony, rhetoric, and grammatical construction which the editors point out, will enable the intelligent student to make his way through the whole series of orations with little more than a Teubner text and an occasional reference to the technical and historical notes of Long. The syndics of the Pitt Press have, we observe, printed Mr. Heitland and Mr. Cowie's pair of orations jointly and severally for the sake, we suppose, of cheapening the "half portion" where it is thought enough for the student's digestion; and the same consideration no doubt prompts the use to a great extent, for Mr. Sidgwick's Tenth Book of the *Aeneid*, of the same introduction as for his already published Eleventh and Twelfth Books. We may add that the task of preparing another book of Virgil's *Epic* for the use of schools could not be in better hands; and it is interesting to compare the work of Mr. Sidgwick in its succinctness with that of Professor Conington and Mr. Nettleship, to the latter of whom the work of the Tenth Book chiefly fell. Both authorities will be found mainly in accord, and nowhere are we disposed to yield scantier praise to the briefer than to the more elaborate commentary. Had we space, this might be shown in detail from the epic rhetoric of the Council of the Gods in the opening of the book, where Mr. Sidgwick illustrates nicely the fine inversion of expression in vv. 12-13:—

Cum fera Karthago Romanis arcibus olim
Exiitum magnum atque Alpes immittet apertas;

and suggests the comparison of *Devictam Asiam* in xi. 268.

Of Dr. White's edition with vocabularies of the *De Senectute* and *De Amicitia* of Cicero we might have been tempted to question the necessity, especially since both treatises are so easy that when the *De Amicitia* was set as a little-go subject at Cambridge—in old days at Cambridge one group at least of undergraduates had all but taken it up at a shot without running their eyes over it—a provident college tutor summoned them to a preliminary rehearsal and set a paper which contained the uncommon and flooring word "occatio." The word, as may be seen in Dr. White's vocabulary, is derived from *oce*, "to harrow," and means "harrowing"; but it is really one of the infinitesimal number of words in either treatise that can demand the faintest explanation. We can conceive, however, an excellent use for either of these pocket volumes—that of employing its chapters for the purpose of turning into English and back again into Latin, in which exercise the vocabularies will greatly conduce to the exactness derivable from that instructive task.

It remains to mention two Greek helps, which have for some little time been lying before us. Mr. Edmund Fowle has found his *Short and Easy Greek and Latin Readers* so successful in preparing pupils for the public schools that the Lower Master at Eton is quite enamoured of them; and hence he has produced a First Greek Reader of the kind for Eton use, with two essential differences from his earlier books—namely, (1) no vocabularies, (2) notes at the end of the book, and not at the bottom of the page. So much the better is the chance of a master getting the words of the lesson looked out, and of the examiner not being disgusted at the half-year's end to find the idle boy's eyes evermore at the bottom of the page. The short passages which compose this handbook are taken from the prose fables known by the name of *Aesop*, and generally accepted, though of late authorship, as fair Greek, select bits of the *Anabasis*, and portions from Arrian, as well as from the collections of Greek myths. All are briefly and systematically annotated, according to the measure of an average schoolboy's receptivity, which we believe is far from voracious. Indeed we are not sure that, but for the reputation of success at Clifton College, we should not have misgivings for the new Primer of Greek Accidence which Dr. Percival has prevailed on Mr. Evelyn Abbott and Mr. Mansfield to prepare for the best English schools, with the distinct aim of succinctness on the one hand and scientific precision on the other. Of Mr. Evelyn Abbott's *Elements of Greek Accidence*, a manual based for the most part on Professor George Curtius, and of scholarly excellence, we spoke fully at the time of its publication. In the present work the aim is to furnish a handbook more suited to the needs of young boys, but giving particular prominence to the laws which rule changes of sound, and making a special matter of the *stem* theory, particularly as regards the various parts of the verb, regular and irregular.

[July 28, 1877.]

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